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THE FORTNIGHTLY

was founded as an independent review in 1865 *by the novelist, Anthony Trollope. Under its great editor, the historian and political philosopher John Morley, it maintained its traditional independence, offering an arena for the discussion of burning questions—political, social, religious and literary. That independence is maintained to-day. The Fortnightly is connected with no other group or publication. It owes allegiance to no single party or political interest. It is edited for those who need to be well informed.*

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THE FORTNIGHTLY

OCTOBER 1954

WORLD POPULATION

THE population of the world, as estimated by the Population Division of the United Nations, rose, approximately, from 470 millions in 1650 to 2400 millions in 1950. The estimates indicate an average annual increase of four per thousand between 1650 and 1850, of seven per thousand between 1850 and 1900, and of nine per thousand between 1900 and 1950. The present rate of increase is variously estimated at from 20 to 30 millions a year; and this rapid growth has created problems that were discussed in the World Population Conference held at Rome last month under the auspices of the United Nations.

The rate of increase has varied considerably between different regions. In the half-century 1850-1900, population growth was most rapid in North America and Europe, but in the twentieth century the rate of increase, which diminished in Europe, reached its highest levels in Latin America (America south of the Rio Grande) and in India, Pakistan, and Japan. During the 30 years 1921-1951 about 108 million people were added to the population of what is now known as India. The extraordinary growth of population in Latin America and the East was brought about, not by increases in birth rates but by decreases in death rates. For example, the death rate in Ceylon fell from 20.4 per thousand population in 1941-1945 to 11.6 in 1951. Encouraging reductions in mortality have been achieved in other countries in which the so-called "tropical" diseases are prevalent. Such diseases have been shown to be vulnerable to the weapons that the advance of medical science has placed in the hands of public health administrators. Malaria, probably the most destructive of diseases, is being successfully attacked by new insecticides and powerful anti-malarial drugs. The "tropical" diseases can now be brought under a considerable measure of control and on a large scale by methods not involving high costs or serious changes in social habits.

It seems that in what are called the "undeveloped countries" we are seeing the beginnings of a period of development not unlike that experienced in Britain towards the end of the eighteenth century and in the first half of the nineteenth— a period marked from a demographic point of view by a descent of the death rate, the persistence of a high birth rate, and a steep rise in population growth. We saw that in Ceylon the death rate fell rapidly between 1941 and 1951, but at the end of that period the birth rate, at 37.3 per thousand, was virtually as high as at the beginning, when it was 37.5.

The significance of twentieth century population growth is a matter of

controversy. There are students of population who take an optimistic view of the present situation. They point out that though there were serious food shortages during the two years immediately following the war, the recovery since made has been so great that the increase in food production has now caught up with the increase in population. They point out also that, apart from the improvements in production that science has doubtless yet in store for us, our knowledge of technological methods is already capable, if extensively applied, of enabling the production of subsistence to keep pace with any likely future growth of population. Another argument is that in the undeveloped countries promising advances have already been made in industrialization; and since in the western countries industrialization, leading as it does to urbanization, has been followed by reductions in the birth rate, similar reductions may confidently be expected in the undeveloped countries of the East.

There are distinguished authorities who hold very different opinions. They affirm that hitherto the most conspicuous result of modern agricultural methods is soil erosion. Dr. Dudley Stamp, who has studied this product of mechanized tillage in many parts of the world, regards it as "the greatest scourge known to man." He tells us that in the U.S.A. there are 282 million acres seriously damaged by soil erosion. From the "dust bowls" of the world precious soil is being blown and washed into the rivers and deposited in the sea. Although remarkable increases in food production have recently been made, the rate of increase has varied widely between different countries. It is in the countries where food supplies are most inadequate that population is increasing most rapidly. Despite the advances of modern technology, the basic fact in the population question at the present time is that, as Professor Arnold Toynbee has put it: "Most of the people alive to-day are poor peasants on the verge of starvation." The argument that the industrialization of the East will be followed, as in the West, by reductions in the birth rate is met by the contention that it is much easier to bring down the death rate than the birth rate. The former can be done by an extensive use of insecticides, drugs, and mass inoculation. The latter involves basic changes in social ideas and customs, in ancient beliefs and aspirations. In the West, birth rates have gone down because many people wished to limit their families and were able to give effect to their wishes; but it would be a mistake to assume that family limitation, however brought about, would be readily adopted by the peoples of the East, to whom the family is an object of veneration, an institution comprehending not only living members but their ancestors, to whom those members have sacred responsibilities.

The Rome Conference has shown that the population problems now confronting the world are not only highly important but difficult enough to need all the knowledge and wisdom that can be devoted to them.

CAUSES OF COLONIAL UNREST

By W. F. Gutteridge

NO excuse is needed in these days for attempting an examination, in the light of past experience and present examples, of the fundamental causes of colonial unrest. Resistance to the authority of an established government has never been a rare occurrence in colonial empires. To-day's entanglement of colonial with foreign affairs has made the question one of the first importance.

It seems a fair assumption that violent, or indeed passive, resistance to the authority of a government implies a failure on the part of that government particularly where backward peoples are concerned. That is not to say that the fault, if that is a word which can be suitably used in such a context, rests entirely on the shoulders of the government. The persistent assertion, common in the mouths of missionaries in the nineteenth century and of hopeless idealists to-day, that "the African is always right" is no help. Nor should an imperial power be judged only on its failures without regard for the extent of its success. But it is the failures which raise the essential problems and reveal the inconsistencies of colonial policies, in so far as policies exist at all.

Examples of resistance to a gradual tightening of governmental control over an area abound. The rebellion of the "*métis*" under Louis Riel on the Red River in 1869 and the Ashanti War of 1873-74 were events of this kind. To-day there is occasionally a movement directed against the white man generally in which the motives are similar. In a sense Mau Mau belongs to this category and is said by some to date from attempts to eradicate the traditional practice of female circumcision which were made well over 20 years ago, but there are obviously other factors involved in the Kenya rebellion.

Further classification of the causes of unrest beyond this point is full of difficulties. One is tempted, for example, to begin by collecting instances of 'obvious injustice' on the part of a government. But what is injustice? Definitions of it are bound to be subjective. Heavy taxation imposed for reasons not concerned with the welfare of the colonial people might be justifiably cited. On the other hand, new taxation of any kind is notoriously likely to cause unrest. From Bacon's rebellion in Virginia in 1676 to the resistance to the collection of land, hut and poll taxes not infrequently encountered in colonial territories to-day there are countless examples. The attempt to tax the American colonists

to pay for their own defence does not appear to us inherently unjust.

Probably slavery, with its denial of any sort of individual liberty, is the nearest to a perfect example of injustice. But there is evidence that in some areas where the slave owners were exceptionally considerate the prospect of emancipation was resented by the slaves as throwing too much of an onus upon them for their own well-being.

All this suggests the obvious truth that the success or failure of colonial government is not a question of abstract justice. The two greatest colonial disorders in the history of the British Empire so far have been the revolt of the American colonies and the Sepoy mutiny in the Indian Army. There is no necessity here for a detailed assessment of their causes, but one common factor is evident: they were both partly due to misunderstanding—to a failure in human communications. The American secession only became inevitable when grievances, often due to the tactlessness of the imperial government, were allowed to accumulate. The greasing of the cartridges, or of the paper in which they were wrapped, is no longer regarded as the sole cause of the Indian Mutiny, but it played its part and was the result of a lack of that knowledge of native prejudices which is essential for successful colonial government.

We are all in these days painfully conscious of this problem of intercommunication. It may well be that the continued tension between America and Russia and their allies is due to neither party knowing what the other's true aims are. It may be that both want peace more than anything else, but the different national backgrounds and the activities of press and radio on both sides make understanding difficult to reach. This is partly a linguistic problem—and linguistic problems can arise even between people who speak the same language. The different meanings of the word 'liberty' subscribed to by the various factions in the American Civil War illustrate this. Jefferson Davis thought of liberty in terms of state rights, of the liberty of the local community against an overweening national authority, while the average slaveholder thought of the liberty to have property in slaves. "Free Soilers" and Abolitionists each had their own versions which coincided in so far as they deprecated slavery. If men of similar background and culture differed in this way the possibilities of this kind of disagreement between a civilized and a primitive people are obviously immense.

Another type of misunderstanding which has led to colonial unrest is the failure on the part of both parties to recognize the root of discontent. Most of the books on the subject talk glibly of the need for responsible government in Canada in the 1830's, but many of the participants in the recurrent crises had no means of realizing this. For one thing, though it was already a reality, few politicians, even in this country, appreciated the full significance of Cabinet government. It was probably not widely understood until the publication of Bagehot's book on the constitution in 1862. For this reason all the symptoms of discontent in Canada, such

s the dispute over the Clergy Reserves, were in turn interpreted as the auses. The French Canadian leader, Morin, when he appeared before ae House of Commons Committee on Lower Canada in 1834 even sug-ested that the Legislative Council, as well as the Assembly, had only to e made elective and all would be well.

It seems then that, if unrest is to be avoided, the imperial power which ecides a policy for a colonial people has four main responsibilities:

(*i*) To ensure its own understanding of the nature of the colony's problems.
(*ii*) To devise a correct policy.
(*iii*) To explain to the subject the nature of the policy.
(*iv*) To convince him of the desirability of that policy especially if it affects his personal interests directly.

The first of these responsibilities—that of diagnosis—requires no dis-ussion. Frequently the problems are self-evident; if the true root of ny troubles is not discovered, then the failure of government is an in-llectual weakness which is probably unavoidable. The second respon-ibility raises a question which may well seem to have no answer—"What is a correct policy?" To counter with the argument that there no such thing as a correct policy in a given set of circumstances is gically to imply that any policy will do, which is obviously untrue.

It is seldom, if at all, that what seems in the abstract to the colonial dministrator to be the ideal policy is the correct policy. Successful overnment, especially colonial government, is essentially a matter for ompromise. Whether the need for compromise should be allowed to ustrate any sort of positive policy at all is another question which must e faced. This is most likely to occur amidst the conflicting interests of plural society and the Colonial Secretary's recent constitutional plan r Kenya provides a good example of the difficulties; his scheme, it is aimed, represents the greatest measure of agreement that can be ob-ined between the races.

In the racially homogeneous territories decisions about policy are less fficult to reach, particularly on constitutional issues. The goal for ost territories is some form of self-government. The policy is in ex-ence and it is the timing which needs to be correct. On the other nd, this presupposes that the overall policy of trusteeship is in itself rrect, and the ultimate practicability of this policy to which Britain s been irrevocably committed for years can sometimes be questioned. There are, moreover, special dangers in proclaiming an adherence to ch a general policy as trusteeship. There is little distinction between consistency in applying such a policy and the adoption of a wrong licy. The Indians, particularly those of the new middle class which me into being under British rule, were quick to observe weaknesses of is nature. Pride in schemes for educating Indians was not accompanied obvious willingness to employ them at all levels of the government rvice, nor did it go as far as helping them to regain a national self-spect. Lord Ripon, Viceroy from 1880-84, tried to end discrimination

between Europeans and Indians as magistrates and in the laws governing the carrying of firearms, and largely failed. It was no accident that before the end of the year of his failure the idea of an Indian National Congress was conceived. The Congress subsequently built its reputation and fostered unrest by playing on the inconsistencies between British liberalism and autocracy which it had perceived. Later, after the 1914-1918 war, it was the discrediting of General Dyer for the shooting at Amritsar as much as the Massacre itself which led to another wave of unrest.

Probably failure to allow for the national self-respect of the subject people is the greatest single source of error and, therefore, of failure in colonial government. The gradual development of the delicate procedure for Commonwealth co-operation should be a reminder of the need to make such allowances. A symbolic example is the demand which Sir Frederic Hodgson made in 1901 for the golden stool of Ashanti which the Ashanti people regarded as containing the "*sunsum*" or soul of the nation: bitter fighting followed his demand. This ignorant error was subsequently brilliantly retrieved as a result of a study of custom and tradition when 20 years later a group of African road builders accidently discovered the stool's hiding place and several Ashantis mutilated it by removing the gold ornaments to sell them. The subsequent handing over of the offenders to the Council of Chiefs for trial and an explanation that the British Government had no claim to the stool greatly deepened the loyalty of the people. The incident led to the present Princess Royal receiving on the occasion of her wedding a replica of a chief's stool with the message: "It may be that the King's child has heard of the Golden Stool of Ashanti. All we women of Ashanti thank the Governor exceedingly because he has declared to us that the English will never again ask us to hand over that stool."

It is probably true to say that in the last 80 years few wrong decisions have been taken wilfully, though the creation of separate electoral rolls in India for Muslims and Hindus can be quoted as a deliberate and conscious attempt to 'divide and rule' which had disastrous consequences—the communal tensions of twentieth century India. The similar arrangement for Burmans and Indians in Burma is a parallel, and the use of Karen levies to suppress the rising of 1886 had far-reaching consequences still felt to-day.

Unfortunately, some policies which appeared wholly right at the time from everyone's point of view have been found in the long run to create difficulties and a tendency to strife. By far the most notable of these is the celebrated policy of indirect rule. So completely was this accepted by all parties as the right answer that in some areas where no native authority existed chiefs were nominated for the purpose. Indirect rule was adopted as providing the best foundation for building a system of self-government. It was accompanied by the encouragement

f academic education. In this lay the weakness, which was not, how-ver, immediately evident because most of those receiving a European tyle education to begin with had an hereditary right to office. In the nd, however, the newly created intelligentsia have often felt themselves arred from participation in local government and, therefore, ultimately n national government. This sense of frustration was a direct cause f the unrest on the Gold Coast and in Nigeria after 1945, though there ad been indications of it in the former territory as early as 1925. The tructure of local government on the Gold Coast has suffered severely s a result and the chiefs—as 'imperialist stooges'—have been largely dis-redited as a stabilizing influence. In other words, the long term effect f indirect rule, combined with the type of education which has been ncouraged, has been, in some cases, to make the route to self-government nore hazardous; inevitably in the circumstances, the grievances of the ducated became tinged with racial suspicions. It is arguable that if ndirect rule, being essentially more sympathetic to native culture than irect rule, could have been regarded as an end in itself—as a permanent ather than an evolutionary form of government—few difficulties would ave arisen.

The difficulty even of finding a policy which is going to have the ex-ected results is obviously great, possibly often insuperable. The difficulty f conveying the implications of such a policy to the subject may be even nore severe. Nevertheless, a most disquieting feature of colonial unrest n recent years has been the fact that peoples who in the first place freely ccepted a protectorate by Britain have not been immune from discon-ent with British rule. The case of Seretse Khama and the recent de-osition of Mutesa II, Kabaka of Buganda, are the obvious examples. In Buganda, for instance, the constitutional government provided for in the Agreement of 1900 had apparently never been a reality and something like feudal practice had continued. But this aspect of the causes of colonial unrest is better illustrated by a more clearly defined and docu-mented example: the Treaty of Waitangi as a cause of the Maori wars.

In some ways the Treaty of Waitangi of 1840 marked a turning point in the history of British colonial policy. It indicated for the first time a willingness, however cautious, on the part of the colonial office to undertake the protection of a native population. In a sense it recon-ciled the idea of trusteeship with a policy of expansion. It is now honoured, somewhat sentimentally, as the Magna Carta of New Zealand history, but the fact is that for 30 years, until the conclusion of the last Maori wars, it was a main source of unrest not only amongst the Maoris but with all sections of New Zealand opinion. No two factions inter-preted its provisions in exactly the same way.

Five elements were involved: the Government, the missionaries, the New Zealand Company, the settlers and the Maoris. The treaty in-volved primarily the transfer of sovereignty to the British Crown in

exchange for protection. In the first place, it is doubtful whether the chiefs who signed the treaty had sovereignty to cede; they had not the power to sell lands on behalf of their tribes, as subsequent events revealed. The Colonial Office regarded the treaty simply as a legal confirmation of the transfer of power. The settlers hoped to gain the security of a British Government but did not expect their titles to land already occupied to be questioned. The New Zealand Company resisted a treaty which the law courts found to be an instrument for the control of British settlement rather than for its extension, while the missionaries resented it as depriving them of the unique and powerful status which they had previously attained.

As for the Maoris, they seem for the most part to have agreed with one of their chiefs, Nopera Parakaria, when he said: "The shadow of the land goes to Queen Victoria, but the substance remains with us." But this view could not be justified from a reading of the treaty which appeared to state clearly that sovereignty was ceded to the Crown, that the Crown had an exclusive right of pre-emption over such lands as the natives wished to sell, and that they were to be protected and accepted as British subjects. The invention by missionary translators of a new Maori word, "*Kawanatangi*", for sovereignty had distorted the meaning. Less than 20 years later at the outbreak of the final Maori wars Swainson, the first Attorney-General of New Zealand, wrote: "If the consequences of the act had been fully understood by them . . . it may be doubted whether a single chief of influence would have become a party to the Treaty of Waitangi." In effect, the consent of the chiefs was withdrawn and the result was war over land—organized in the first place by two who had not signed the treaty but eventually involving most of the territory.

The Treaty of Waitangi remains the classic example of the snags and obstacles to be encountered by colonial treaty makers, but disappointment and lack of comprehension may arise from institutions as well as from treaties. A newly installed system of justice on English lines has on occasion been turned into a travesty of itself. The result is indignation at its failure. This was true in India, and especially in Bengal, at the beginning of the century. Wholesale and prearranged perjury could pervert the course of justice and even secure the conviction of the wrong man. Sometimes there was a suspicion that whole cases had been prefabricated as a kind of game. In these circumstances a fair result was a miracle. The institutions were accepted without the spirit in which they had to be operated being understood and became an inevitable source of unrest. Similar conditions prevailed at one time in the Ashanti Confederacy.

Where administrators have been induced by the findings of anthropologists to equate an elective element in tribal society with western democratic practice analogous difficulties have arisen. Those natives

who had been educated at British and American universities were not content with existing native institutions which they regarded, often strongly, as an inferior substitute for the ' real ' thing. Again, the varied Commonwealth experience shows that it is the conventions and not the institutions which make parliamentary democracy what it is.

Misunderstandings, however, are not confined to land tenure, justice and governmental institutions. At a lower level of administration, crude verbal mistakes can have disastrous results. A revolt which occurred amongst native troops in the Belgian Congo in 1945 illustrates this. They were practised in exercises with live ammunition and told that this was " battle inoculation ". Later, having been informed that they were to be individually inoculated against smallpox, they assumed that any form of inoculation meant that they were to be individual targets for firing—the inference was obvious and they mutinied.

Once a policy has been framed and its nature successfully conveyed to the subject, the imperial power may, in some cases, have one further responsibility—that of convincing him of its desirability. In the past, and still in some remote areas to-day, complete confidence in the district officer made this process unnecessary. What he said was often accepted as good, but, of course, the possibility of an abuse of that confidence could not be excluded. The debates on the question of Central African Federation raised an interesting aspect of this issue.

The first firm proposals for such a scheme were made by the Labour Government in 1949 and district officers in the Colonial Office territories of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were encouraged to discuss the prospect with the Africans. This approach has since been condemned as inviting trouble by throwing doubt on a policy. The disturbance in the Cholo district of Nyasaland last year could have been avoided, it is said, by the early imposition of a firm decision without encouraging debate. Hesitancy has been the rule when militancy was needed.

This attitude is significant for two reasons. In the first place, it implies that there is no need for a government, when dealing with a backward people, to be impartial even on a controversial issue. In fact, it has a definite responsibility to put itself across. Secondly, it introduces into the discussion the indisputable fact that colonial governments to-day have rivals often pulling in the opposite direction when they try to convince the subject or to secure his consent. In other words, the district officer, or, with indirect rule, the chief is no longer the only leader in whom the natives may have confidence.

This, of course, is to make the obvious point that nationalist movements have greatly complicated the tasks of colonial governments. But it is not sufficient to say simply that the cause of the riots on the Gold Coast in 1948 was nationalism. Even nationalist movements, whose aims generally involve a confusion of the terms independence and self-government, require a focus for grievances against the existing govern-

ment. Large numbers of ex-soldiers had returned to the Gold Coast and were unable to find the urban employment they wanted; many had served in India where they had heard of nations with no higher standards than their own enjoying self-government. But it needed two definite complaints to promote rioting: in rural areas the Government's policy of cutting out cocoa trees affected by swollen shoot was resisted; in the towns the extreme scarcity and, therefore, high prices of imported consumer goods like bicycles and cotton cloth led first to a boycott and then after a half-hearted reduction in prices to rioting aimed at the property of European and Asian merchants. Further investigation showed, however, that the boycott was organized by the frustrated intelligentsia already mentioned. These same political leaders have, since they attained power in 1951, ruthlessly enforced the cutting out of cocoa trees, and even so have encountered less resistance than their predecessors did.

The question, then, is one of eliminating distrust. The trusted leader can successfully enforce what may otherwise be an unpopular policy. It is still possible for the district officer in some parts of the dependent empire to fulfil this rôle. The convincing of the African of the necessity for an unfamiliar agricultural technique may be a matter for ingenuity. For instance, in one area a film on soil erosion received no credence until the people were shown shots of themselves at work; henceforth, they accepted whatever the cinema suggested to them. Provided the good intentions of the imperial power are indisputable, there can be little objection to trickery of this sort, or a legitimate device of leadership, whichever one prefers to call it, in the cause of trusteeship, but the opportunities for it are becoming daily less and when it is exposed it becomes a weapon in the hands of the agitator who wishes to discredit the administration. In the same way, expressions used in the changing circumstances arouse suspicion. " Africanization " used to be a term almost complimentary to the West African: to-day he has heard of Pandit Nehru's denunciation of " Indianization " as a stupid word: " Who would think ", said the Indian statesman, " of attempting to ' Englishize ' England?"

And so with factions competing for the trust and consent of the African and other colonial persons, comes the ultimate test of modern colonial policy, where, after every attempt at convincing the subject, violent resistance to the administration occurs. Is it the duty of the governing power to impose the policy by force irrespective of the consequences? Or must a fresh start be made in the hope of securing acquiescence? If no possibility of compromise exists, then should trusteeship come to an end and the colony be abandoned to its own devices? Is the period of trusteeship to be determined solely by the subjects' willingness to accept it.

In a political sense the trustee can do little more than act as a brake; it is for him to gain time so that his educational policies can work and so

nat new political leaders can gain experience through responsibility nder his tutelage. Trusteeship which began and was welcomed as a tatement of good intentions has suffered through conversion into a ractical policy. On the economic and social sides, of which the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund is an expression, the good intentions in he form of monetary gifts remain obvious. Politically, with world pinion as expressed in the Assembly and Trusteeship Council of the Jnited Nations as an irritant factor, trusteeship seems an obstacle to nationalist aspirations and a cause of unrest. In that, in all three ways t may discourage development of a sense of responsibility—and ttempted Caribbean development schemes are proof enough of this—t may be said to have outlived its usefulness.

Colonial unrest is unavoidable because changing circumstances make ts causes unpredictable. The intrusion of colonial affairs into the wider arena of international relations has greatly complicated the issues. That is not to say, however, that any present discussion of policy is futile, but colonial government is more than ever a question of human relations and communication. Where there is confidence in the administrator everything is possible. Ministers and officials have to fall over backwards to make their good intentions clear; a casual unqualified reference, as, for instance, to the possibility of an East African Federation, may be sufficient to arouse suspicion and unrest.

That native leaders bear a responsibility for encouraging unrest is often true. That in power they may become responsible in another sense is also true. Britain as an imperial power has encouraged democratic practices and contrived to make her own institutions the envy of educated Africans and others. Universal adult suffrage has been tried on the Gold Coast. In the circumstances prevailing there it seemed and has proved, with certain qualifications, a practicable policy, but it has put the African leader elsewhere, in Kenya and Central Africa particularly, in an awkward position. It is not surprising that he is not now anxious to accept a standard of civilization or education, attainable by most in not less than a full generation, as a basis for the grant of political privileges; he tries to insist on what, from experience in other territories, he now regards as the natural rights of his people.

What prevents unrest in one place may provoke it in another, particularly if it is a plural society in which no race's aspirations can be fully realized. It is doubtful whether a colonial policy in these, and indeed in any circumstances, can be much more than a succession of expedients influenced by the normal political and social prejudices of the agents of the responsible power.

(The author is a Senior Lecturer in Modern Subjects at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst.)

SAVING THE UNITED NATIONS

By Gordon Evans

WORLD government is as insubstantial as the pillar of cloud which helped to guide the children of Israel in their wanderings through the wilderness in search of a dreamed-of promised land. The condition of an equivalent usefulness is that it shall be recognized and followed at least by the world's major peoples, desiring to achieve through co-operation common social goals for the world. Whether these major peoples will ever desire to co-operate for such goals will depend upon their recognition and acceptance of certain social ends and means, embodying values held precious by all alike, and recognition and acceptance will be forthcoming only to the extent that these values are manifest. The achievement of One World will depend, therefore, upon the leadership of an *élite*, surmounting national limitations, speaking and acting in terms of humanity, in a language so clear, unambiguous and winning as to speak for all men.

The practical hope of achieving world government rests in the development of the United Nations. The Charter, with its affirmation of faith in fundamental human rights, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small, already speaks for mankind. It sets out the methods and establishes the institutions by which the member nations agree to co-operate to achieve ends desired equally by all: peace, security, justice, human rights, economic and social progress. In the General Assembly may be seen something more than the beginnings of a world parliament. The specialized agencies, dealing with Health, Food, Education, Labour, etc. and the World Bank and Fund, could eventually develop into world Departments of State. The International Court is capable of increasing influence and usefulness. The broad outlines of the world community exist on paper. The first loose constitution is agreed. The initial machinery is established.

Yet it has to be admitted that something is preventing the United Nations from developing as originally hoped, that it is being handicapped in its work, for there are few signs as yet that it is gaining in authority and effectiveness. There is an increasing tendency for nations to pay only lip service to the United Nations, pursuing policies often barely comformable with or even contrary to the Charter, through methods

hich by-pass U.N. institutions. This retreat from the United Nations, e tacit gradual abandonment of its One World conception does not gnify, however, any weakening on the part of those whose faith and sion gave it birth. To them this disheartening trend will present itself a challenge. The outcome of failure would be disastrous, perhaps nally, for all civilization. Somehow the trend must be arrested and versed. The problem is how to do this. Its solution cannot be other an costly, but success at whatever price would be infinitely cheaper an failure.

The roots from which the United Nations derives such strength and tality as it has lie in the hearts and minds of quite limited numbers of dividuals scattered throughout the world. Apart from them it is little ore than a paper scheme, a few thousand international civil servants, nd some buildings. The problem is to discover what can be done to ake the United Nations live in action, clearly and unambiguously, so at the masses of the world's peoples come to understand it and give it eir enthusiastic support. How can it develop such actual authority at as a matter of course an effective majority of member nations will mply with its decisions and co-operate in carrying them out?

Just as a man may embody the spirit of a people and set the standard f national conduct (for example Winston Churchill in 1940) so it may e possible for a nation to embody the spirit of the United Nations harter and set a standard of international conduct which may come to e accepted generally. Britain's record in this respect will stand comarison with that of any other great power. But much more than this eeds to be said if the case is to be met. The salvation of the United ations requires a generous and creative leadership capable of thawing ut the frozen defensive attitudes of the cold war. This requires a ation-wide vision of the United Nations as it could be— and as world ell-being requires that it shall be—and a clear, consistent national olicy which gives first priority to the development of the United Nations nd deliberately and avowedly gears the nation's resources to that end. his cannot as yet be said of British policy.

Victory in the cold war means victory not for any rival bloc, nor even or peaceful co-existence—but for international understanding and coperation—for the United Nations. Such victory must be striven for nd sacrificed for with wholehearted concentration. The outcome would e a progressive relaxation of international tensions simultaneously with rowing achievement, authority and prestige for the United Nations. n initiating and leading a world movement for such a victory Britain, ogether with the other nations of the Commonwealth, could reverse the resent Gadarene trend, and demonstrate that national interest is served est in serving the United Nations.

Professor E. H. Carr in his *Conditions of Peace* pointed out that: "A eneration which makes security its aim is doomed to frustration. The

only stability attainable in human affairs . . . is the stability of . . . the bicycle . . . The condition of security is continuous advance. The political, social and economic problems of the world must be approached with the desire not to stabilize but to revolutionize." This truth was realized by those who framed the United Nations Charter. The Economic and Social Council was established, together with specialized agencies designed to operate directly as well as to promote international co-operation in raising living standards throughout the world, particularly in the under-developed countries where some two-thirds of the world's population live. Regional economic commissions were established. Since then a multitude of valuable studies and reports have been published. Year after year, United Nations surveys of world and regional economic and social developments have drawn attention to increasingly menacing trends. Special committees of international experts have made far-reaching practical proposals which, if adopted, would enable the United Nations to give more effective aid to Governments in grappling with their problems. The PEP broadsheet *World Population and Resources** states that " the increase in human mouths to feed which is taking place at this moment before our eyes is . . . much more serious as a political, social and economic problem than anything the world has yet known . . . The magnitude of the . . . problems which are being generated has hardly begun to be appreciated, even by informed opinion." The Secretary-General of the United Nations in his latest Report to the General Assembly writes of " two trends that may, if permitted to go unchecked, be more dangerous in the long run than the conflicts that so monopolize our attention to-day. One of these is the fact that the population has been increasing faster than production, especially in those areas where standards of living are lowest. The other is the manner in which standards of living in those same areas are still lagging far behind those of the more economically advanced regions. It seems clear that no attack on these trends can be successful without a combination of measures of an order of magnitude far beyond what has so far been undertaken."

The problems have been stated and analysed, the needs measured, machinery has been set up, recommendations made. It is realized that the nature of the situation makes it inevitable that progress shall be a matter of decades rather than years. But it cannot be said that the economically advanced countries are giving anything approaching top priority to these vitally urgent matters. The United Nations Technical Assistance Programme which provides a service of technical advice and training indispensable to the progress of the underdeveloped countries has been described by the Secretary-General in his Report (already quoted) as of " singular importance ", " so far the most successful experiment in channelling ' know-how ' and experience to those countries

* Political and Economic Planning. April 1954.

which have lagged behind in general technical and administrative development." He writes: "This venture does not involve funds of a size in any way commensurate with its general significance . . ." This world-wide programme costs only some £9 million annually, of which the United States contributes approximately 60 per cent. Trained personnel, which it is the purpose of the programme to provide, is the bottleneck of development in the poorer countries. Yet approximately one-half of the well founded requests for aid have to be rejected or postponed for lack of funds. In a world where those matters most important to human well-being had priority, such a state of affairs could not be. It is in Britain's power, with a degree of sacrifice which would be imperceptible, to correct this situation. By strikingly as well as steadily increasing her support for the programme, Britain could impart a new impetus—moral as well as financial—to the United Nations effort; since any increase in Britain's contribution would be more than equalled by additional matching contributions from America.

Similarly a clear-cut lead could be given on the need of the underdeveloped countries for assistance with capital for basic development such as land clearance, draining swamps, building roads, dredging rivers, harbours, etc. In many countries, until this basic development (which can yield little or no profit) has taken place, conditions will not be suitable for the development of industries and other forms of economic advance. The problem facing these countries is that they cannot begin to make any rapid headway until such development has been carried out and they are too poor to raise the whole of the necessary capital from their own resources.

A United Nations expert committee submitted in 1953 a unanimous report on the methods of establishing a Special United Nations Fund for Economic Development (SUNFED), to make available grants-in-aid and loans on easy terms to underdeveloped countries for basic development. The proposal to establish such a fund had been made by the General Assembly. Yet when this unanimous report came to be debated by the Economic and Social Council and subsequently by the General Assembly of the United Nations, the more developed countries including Britain, following American leadership, intimated that they were not ready to implement it. In consequence the best outcome that could be achieved was a resolution, unanimous except for the Soviet bloc, which included the declaration that: "When sufficient progress has been made in internationally supervised world-wide disarmament" the Governments undertook to call upon their peoples "to devote a portion of the savings achieved through such disarmament to an international fund, within the framework of the United Nations, to assist development and reconstruction in underdeveloped countries."

The establishment of the Fund was thus postponed indefinitely—until such time as the Communist powers and the western powers shall have

reduced their armaments under an agreed system of international supervision. Thus a United Nations proposal aimed at meeting some of the urgent needs of the poorer countries, the operational principles of which have been unanimously agreed by a United Nations committee of international experts, has been suspended indefinitely and on the most transparent of pretexts. For the experts had recommended that the Fund should come into being for an initial period of two years as soon as a minimum of 30 nations had contributed a minimum of $250 million (£90 million). The quality of this excuse will be appreciated when it is realized that the establishment of this modest experimental fund has been made conditional upon internationally supervised reductions in the world's defence expenditures which are estimated to amount to some £40,000 million annually. The cost of the proposed Fund to Britain, if she contributed in the same ratio as her payment to the budget of the United Nations, would be £9 million to cover the initial two years. The contribution has been withheld on the grounds that it is more than Britain can afford, pending reduction under internationally supervised world-wide disarmament, of her defence expenditure which in the current year will amount to over £1600 million.

This is not the kind of leadership which will help the United Nations to grow in authority; it is not the kind of leadership given by a nation which would place service to the world community in the forefront of its objectives. It is well known how slowly such projects gain momentum; if SUNFED were to be established tomorrow, several experimental years would inevitably elapse before it could make any significant impact on the situation. Much operational experience would have to be gained and many lessons learned before it would be able to handle the far larger sums which would be needed, and which would result from disarmament. Awareness of the needs of the poverty-stricken masses of Asia, Africa and South America, and concern that their understanding and active support shall be won for the United Nations, alike require the vision of world statesmanship. Every year of delay in establishing the Fund—and the World Development Authority of which it would be the 'pilot project'—means hope deferred for hundreds of millions of the world's underprivileged people and diminution of faith in the United Nations solution. Leadership requires the furthering of the right thing at the right time, and that is the earliest possible moment. Action would involve a degree of sacrifice—but one which would eventually be immeasurably repaid in strengthening the bonds between the peoples and increasing the prestige and effectiveness of the United Nations.

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THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND THE NEW DIPLOMACY

By Khalid Bin Sayeed

IN 1867 Walter Bagehot thus described the British Cabinet in his classic, *The English Constitution*: "It is a creature, but it has the power of destroying its creators. It is an executive which can annihilate the legislature, as well as an executive which is the nominee of the legislature."* This pellucid analysis of the relationship between the legislature and the executive still rings true. But the exact reverse of this has happened in the case of the relationship between the General Assembly and the Security Council. The structure of the Charter of the United Nations was deliberately designed in such a way that an inferior rôle was given to the General Assembly. Nowhere in the Articles 10, 11, 12 and 15, which deal with the relationship that is to exist between the General Assembly and the Security Council, is it said that the General Assembly will have any power beyond making recommendations to the Security Council. Article 11, Paragraph 2, is quite clear on this when it says: "Any such questions on which action is necessary shall be referred to the Security Council by the General Assembly either before or after discussion." But all this clear enunciation has not prevented the emergence of the Assembly as a more powerful and influential organ than it was originally designed to be.

The cause of this ascendancy lies in the disunity and the deep cleavage of ideology and interests which have characterized the deliberations of the Security Council from its very inception. The reason why the British Cabinet has emerged as more powerful than the House of Commons, is best explained by Lord Melbourne's famous remark: "It is not much matter what we say, but mind, we must all say the same." If the deliberations of the Security Council can be described by such a cryptic remark, it may perhaps run as follows: 'It does not matter much what we say, as long as we oppose each other.' Even on minor matters, like those of the election of the Governor of the Free Territory of Trieste and the election of the new members of the United Nations, there has not been any agreement among the major powers.

It may be suggested that the analogy between the British Cabinet system of government and the political organs of the United Nations like the General Assembly and the Security Council has been stretched too far. The British Cabinet is a committee of the legislature, it enjoys the support of the majority party in the legislature, and is removable by the legislature (though such removal is rare). The Security Council on the other hand is not a committee of the General Assembly and it cannot

* Oxford University Press: *World Classics*. p.14.

be removed by a vote of non-confidence of the General Assembly. I have not lost sight of these facts. I am merely using the analogy as an expository device. Thus, to pursue our argument, the General Assembly can only recommend. This power to recommend can become effective only when there is a two-thirds majority of the members present and voting for a particular proposal. But since the Security Council has been unable to take any decision on most of the matters brought before it because of disunity and veto, a substantial majority of the members of the United Nations have felt that the General Assembly should assume an executive rôle. They also suggest that the recommendations of the General Assembly should be acted upon as though they were legally binding decisions. It is interesting to recall in this connection that at least in the case of the Italian colonies, all the major powers, including the Soviet Union, agreed beforehand to accept the decision of the General Assembly as binding.

Article 12, Paragraph 1, of the Charter clearly lays down that:

> While the Security Council is exercising in respect of any dispute or situation the functions assigned to it in the present Charter the General Assembly shall not make any recommendations with regard to that dispute or situation unless the Security Council so requests.

But both in the case of Palestine and Korea, the General Assembly found it flexible enough to make recommendations with regard to these issues which were on the agenda of the Security Council. Similarly, when the General Assembly passed the 'Uniting for Peace' Resolution and established the Collective Measures Committee giving the latter broad functions for the maintenance of peace and security, it was challenging the supremacy of the Security Council in these matters which was clearly established by Article 24, Paragraph 1, of the Charter. When the representative of the Soviet Union pointed out that the Collective Measures Committee was established with the intention of circumventing the Security Council, he was not merely giving vent to his bitterness. The remark of Mr. Lodge, the United States delegate, made when the Soviet Union used the veto power on June 18 this year to block Thailand's appeal for a United Nations peace observer team—"Thank heaven we can still go on to the Assembly"*—explains what many members of the United Nations have begun to expect from the General Assembly, namely, action on matters which are not being dealt with effectively by the Security Council.

If one looks at the number of political issues tackled by the General Assembly as compared to those considered by the Security Council in recent years, one is impressed by the fact that the number of cases that have come before the General Assembly has been increasing, while there has been a decline in the number of cases considered by the Security Council. From July 1, 1949 to June 30, 1953 the number of cases that has come before the General Assembly is 72, while the Security Council

* *The New York Times.* June 19, 1954.

as considered only 38 in the same period. It is obvious that lack of unity and the use of the veto have paralysed the Security Council. The General Assembly could not have emerged ascendant had its deliberations been beset by disunity and above all by the same procedure. There is the same cleavage of interests and ideologies in the General Assembly as there is in the Security Council. But if a particular proposal has a two-thirds majority behind it, conflicts can be resolved. Whereas in the Security Council no conflict can be resolved unless there emerges a unanimity of opinion behind some particular proposal.

Thus, what has happened is not a mere 'sea-change'. Originally, the United Nations was conceived primarily as a union of four or five major powers maintaining peace and security in the world. There might have been suspicions and doubts as to how this unity would work and how long it would last, but the Charter did not visualize any basic or fundamental disagreements between the major powers. The reason why the United Nations, as originally designed, did not work is that this basic assumption was swept away by changing circumstances. What has emerged is a new United Nations which works as a sort of Grand Alliance led by the United States supported by a two-thirds majority in the General Assembly and organized against the Soviet Union. It works because the United States and the British Commonwealth and a number of 'medium' and small powers think that the Soviet Union is a potential aggressor. Thus, when in March 1953 the Soviet delegate to the General Assembly, during the discussion of the report of the Collective Measures Committee, denounced the 'Uniting for Peace' Resolution as a plot engineered by the United States against the Soviet Union, he was not merely indulging in the usual Marxist jargon, he was referring to the fundamental change that had taken place in the structure and purpose of the United Nations.

Side by side with this basic change there has been taking place a significant change in the technique and nature of diplomacy pursued by the big powers like the United States. The old diplomacy based on the balance of power approach was that two or three big powers used to combine against a group of potential aggressors. But to-day the Grand Alliance in the General Assembly is not merely a combination of the United States and the British Commonwealth. They may form the hard core of the two-thirds majority, but they do not constitute the whole two-thirds majority. Smaller powers have to be wooed. Their votes have to be canvassed for. The diplomatic leadership has to be welded through the medium of the procedures of the General Assembly. Even the Soviet Union has learnt a bitter lesson from its dealings with Yugoslavia, that it cannot always use the big stick to browbeat its satellites into abject docility.

Thus, to argue that the combination of powers under the leadership of the United States and the Commonwealth consists of powers which are in complete accord with each other and inspired by the one irrevoc-

able purpose of defending the free world against an overt or covert aggression of the Soviet Union is not true. The new Asiatic and Moslem States which have recently won their freedom are sometimes as strident in their denunciations against the existence of imperialism in the non-Soviet world as they are against Communist imperialism. One of the best examples of these is the speech of Pakistan's Foreign Minister, Chaudhri Zafrulla Khan, in the General Assembly debate on September 18, 1953. He said:

> The Korean situation and the Far East are not the only tensions that threaten peace. In fact they are but so many symptoms and manifestations of the basic evil. That evil is the denial of the brotherhood of man—of all men, whatever the colour of their skins, white, dark, brown or yellow—and the arrogant assumption that certain sections of mankind are entitled, as of right, to exercise domination over other sections of their fellow beings. Such domination is an affront to human dignity, irrespective of whether this domination manifests in Korea, in Indo-China, in Tunisia, in Morocco or elsewhere.

All this goes to show that a major power like the United States, in order to win the support of the two-thirds majority in the Assembly must formulate its policies in such a way that it inspires this support. The United States delegation, though remaining neutral on vital issues affecting relations between colonial powers and their subjects, yet makes it clear time and again that the United States itself has never been an imperialist power and that it is in full sympathy with the struggles for freedom of people living in colonial subjugation, having waged such a struggle itself against British imperialism.

Some of the speeches of Mr. Dulles clearly indicate that he tries to state the policy of his country in such a way and in a terminology which is likely to inspire maximum support among the members of the United Nations. Thus, in his address before the last General Assembly on September 17, 1953, he tried to represent the feelings of all the people, perhaps including even those living beyond the Iron Curtain, when he said:

> They only want simple things. They want the opportunity to worship God in accordance with the dictates of their conscience . . . They want the opportunity to exchange views with others and to persuade or be persuaded by what appeals to their reason and their conscience. They want the right to live in their homes without fear.

And then he declared: " They want governments to which they consent."

This new diplomacy that we have referred to does not merely mean pursuit of policies which are popular and inspire maximum approval. Nor does it end with trying to unite the non-Communist world by a common ideology. It also means what Lord Acton's remark suggests: the price of freedom is eternal vigilance. Winston Churchill complained during the war that the Allies had foolishly and supinely allowed Hitler to build up from almost nothing his horrible war machine. But this time, the Russians, unlike the Germans, have not had to build up from " almost nothing ". From the beginning, they have enjoyed the distinct advant-

age of bringing practically the whole of eastern Europe into their grip. In addition to this, they have Communist parties operating in practically every country, through whom they can sap and undermine the very foundations of these countries.

This is a new problem. Formerly, weak countries were threatened by external aggression. To-day all countries, perhaps some more and some less, are also in danger of Communist subversion and infiltration. Therefore, the problem is not merely one of extending military aid to weak countries. It is also one of strengthening their economies against internal unrest, so that their situation may not be exploited by Communist agitators. How intricate and important this problem is can be seen from the magnanimous support that Mr. Dulles came out with for continuing economic aid to India while testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on June 5 this year. In spite of the exasperating Indian attitude in international matters, Mr. Dulles was at pains to point out that "among free nations there is room for diversity of views . . . [to] continue help . . . [is to] serve our enlightened self-interest."

It may be suggested that since the General Assembly has been steadily increasing its power and since the impotence of the Security Council has been increasingly manifest, it is in the fitness of things to revise the Charter in such a manner that it reflects the true picture of what has happened. Logical and apparent as this procedure seems to be, it will yet be an extremely short-sighted step to take. For though the entrance to this alley seems clear, there is no broad highroad after one crosses it.

The fact that, when the Security Council did not work, resort could be had to the General Assembly shows how adaptable and flexible the Charter is. If the Charter is revised in such a way that it becomes extremely precise and gives more power to the General Assembly, it will mean that the Charter will become capable of only precise interpretation. And above all such an amendment will be effectively opposed by the Soviet Union for the amendment has to be ratified by not only two-thirds of the members of the United Nations, but all the permanent members of the Security Council.

Thus, if there is going to be further accretion of power to the General Assembly, let it be by gradual and almost imperceptible degrees. If one can hope against hope, one can say that the Soviet bloc may display a more reasonable frame of mind, and, consequently, the non-Soviet world may feel less suspicious towards them. In the event of such a highly unlikely event happening, the Security Council may regain the active rôle that has been assigned to it in the Charter and the Assembly may also continue to be a potent organ, less assertive than it has been recently, yet not so subsidiary and servile as it is designed to be in the Charter.

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AGRICULTURE AND BUREAUCRACY

By H. Martin-Leake

THE publicity given to Crichel Down and, to a lesser extent, to the case of Mrs. Woollett and numerous others, has thrown a lurid light on the danger inherent in a too powerful bureaucracy. In these cases, emphasis has been laid on the legality of the procedure—a constitutional and over-riding issue—and the deeper issues tend to be overlooked. They are wrapped up in the question: why did the situation ever come to such a pass? All these cases concern agriculture and hinge on the Agriculture Act of 1947.

Acts are broadly divisible into two classes; the first, those that have a positive objective—the encouragement of all that tends to increase social welfare—and the second, those that have a negative objective—the checking of anti-social activities. The test of the goodness of an Act of the former class is the extent to which incentive, rather than regulation, is relied on to secure the objective for which it was passed. The Agriculture Act of 1947, in intention, definitely falls into the former class; yet it relies dominantly on regulation to achieve its objective—increased production through raising the general standard of agriculture. For its implementation, the War Agricultural Executives were placed on a permanent basis. To these it entrusts vasts powers over the farming community with the duty of grading farmers and the power to recommend supervision and dispossession. In so far as it relies dominantly on regulation to achieve its objective, it falls more appropriately into the second class and must be considered a bad Act. This fact becomes clear when the Act is viewed in operation.

In addition to the county agricultural committees, there has been established a National Agricultural Advisory Service, one of the functions of which is to assist these C.A.E.C's to carry out their duties under the Act. It is the officers of this N.A.A.S, who make contact with the individual farmers, and their primary function should be, as the title of the service indicates, to advise. Yet these officers are also saddled with police duties; with them it largely lies to grade the farmers and to recommend supervision and dispossession. Their position, thus, is invidious. The London police—and it is true of all the police of this country—form a service which alone has solved the problem of at one and the same time retaining the confidence of the community at large and of checking anti-social activities. The reason is, first, that police powers are strictly defined and, second, that discipline is rigorously enforced when those

powers are over-stepped.

In the case of the N.A.A.S. neither of these conditions prevails. " Good husbandry ", on which recommendations should be based, is not merely ill-defined in the Act, but indefinable and opinions may differ widely in any particular case. Equally a matter of opinion is what constitutes an economic holding. Nor are its officers subject to discipline; they are well protected by a screen in depth. Behind the C.A.E.C's lie, if a matter is carried further, the Ministry. Here, on the *ex-parte* information received, some anonymous official upholds the decision in the terms: " I am directed to say . . . " —who " directs " is never disclosed. It has taken the Crichel Down case to expose the extent of official obstruction in these matters, an obstruction against which the ordinary farmer is powerless. It is within the capacity of an individual to resist the appeal of exercising power, but not of groups. Under the circumstances it was inevitable that the N.A.A.S. as a group should find the attraction of exercising power too great and subordinate its primary function—to advise—to its police function. As a direct consequence, the very farmers, those graded as B and C, who could derive greatest benefit, are the ones least receptive through fear of being brought under supervision or even dispossessed.

There is, however, an even deeper influence at work. As J. G. Crowther states (*The Sciences of Energy*), science in England grew as one of the humanities, divorced from practice, and it gained thereby a reputation for " intellectual integrity ". He points out that in America, with its shorter history, scientific study was a response to the demands of technology, thereby gaining a materialistic bias. For good or ill, but inevitably, English science has developed the same bias; scientists have, to an increasing extent, become materialistically-minded technologists. Yet, so slowly do mental outlooks change, an outdated claim to a superior " intellectual integrity " is still maintained. Thus, there has developed a hypocrisy, all the more dangerous because unconscious, for it leads to a claim for the best of both worlds—freedom from discipline and material well-being. This is a weakness that any system for providing technological services will ignore at its peril—and the N.A.A.S. is such a service. Its officers are, for the most part, trained scientists functioning as technologists, primarily concerned with the application of science to practice. A more stringent discipline than ordinary is required to overcome this bias. The point was well put by the late Sir Albert Howard in a discussion at the Farmers' Club when he said:

> What keeps the cultivator in order is the fact that he has got to make a living . . . I was soon placed in a position of some danger when I became a government official in India. Plenty of money and every sort of facility were given me, but it occurred to me one thing was lacking; what was there to keep *me* in order.

It is the fundamental weakness of the Agriculture Act of 1947 that it completely ignores these weaknesses of human nature—love of power

and freedom from responsibility—and does not provide the two correctives, adequate definition of powers and a rigid code of discipline. Since, as has been indicated, the former are indefinable, the whole system, so laboriously built up under the Act, is indefensible. The N.A.A.S. forms the base of the administrative pyramid erected under the Act. A solution for the constitutional issues raised by the Crichel Down case may be found, but any such solution, dealing with these issues alone, will prove of little avail; for they will touch only on the negative aspects of the Act. If the snake is to be killed and not merely scotched, if the positive aspects of the Act are to be advanced, some means must be found to divest the N.A.A.S. of its police functions, the first step towards which must be the complete functional separation of the N.A.A.S. from the C.A.E.C's, leaving to the former only its advisory function.

The constructive aspect, only to be touched on lightly, may be posed as a question: under what conditions does a technological service function most efficiently? The clearest answer is given by industry; it is when such a service is incorporated in the structure of industry, paid by and responsible to that industry. It is possible to go further and say that technological efficiency attains its maximum when a particular industry is composed of independent, competitive units, each with its own technological service. It is recognition of this that has made American industry so efficient.

But it is not necessary to turn to industry for the answer. Practical agricultural experience in many countries amply confirms the view that the same principles hold for agriculture. In seeking a means to apply those principles to British agriculture, however, it is not possible to follow the experience of other countries in detail. Denmark has evolved a co-operative system peculiar to its conditions; plantations, particularly of sugar cane in Java (till the war) and Hawaii, have adopted the same principle in another form, with the consequence that they have led the world in production of sugar per acre. A system for British agriculture, with all its diversity and variety of production, size of holding, nature of tenure and marketing facilities within easy reach, has yet to be worked out. More than one system has been proposed including one embracing the principle of co-partnership, now assuming prominence in industry. These systems require to be critically examined and put to practical test.

The solution of the problem of incorporating technical advisory services into the agricultural industry is, however, a matter of time. The immediate problem is to find a means of divesting the N.A.A.S. of its police powers and of limiting its functions to advisory work.

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BUTLIN'S AND THE CHURCH

By H. H. E. Peacock

THE moment you step into a Butlin's holiday camp you are in a unique world. You may have the Irish Sea, the English Channel, the mountains of Caernarvonshire or Ayrshire at your feet—it makes no difference. You are in a Butlin world, a world of its own. Whichever camp you visit you still drink in the " Pig & Whistle " or the " Continental Bar ", you still eat your way through a similar weekly menu, you still ask for help from a willing " Red Coat " staff—even the plays produced in each camp are the same. And without such centralization, efficiency on this scale would be impossible.

Two things strike you at once; the immensity of the organization, and the friendliness of the staff. At the Skegness camp, for example, at the peak of the season, 8000 campers depart in the space of a few hours and 8000 new arrivals take their place, apparently without a hitch; 8000 beds are re-made with clean linen; 30,000 meals are served daily; in the same period of 24 hours an average of 40 windows are broken, and (before the change to plastic crockery) 250 cups were broken or chipped. 1500 babies' nappies are washed and dried daily. There are 1500 staff to attend to the needs of these holiday campers. They include chalet maids (the campers sleep in rows of three or four bed chalets), waitresses (four dining halls each accommodate 1200 campers, eating in two sessions), baby-minders and children's nurses (there are sometimes 1500 children to be cared for), nursing sisters, commissionaires, actors and variety artists, dance band musicians, shopkeepers, bar stewards, transport drivers, plumbers and carpenters, electricians, hairdressers, gardeners and photographers, professional cricket and soccer coaches, swimming and skating instructors—every conceivable kind of servant to make possible the complete family holiday.

The friendliness of the staff reveals itself at the " Who's Who " entertainment (which at Skegness is presented in " the largest air-conditioned theatre in Europe "!), immediately after the evening meal on the first day. A repeat performance serves the second-sitting diners. To the accompaniment of a snappy theatre orchestra, a charming compère introduces on the stage the " lads and lassies " whose " intent is all for your delight." With just the right touch of humour and friendliness, which even the sophisticated soon learn not to mistake for heartiness, he brings on to the stage representatives of the staff, and in particular the " boys

and girls " in red blazers, " The Red Coats ", " who are going to make your holiday at Butlin's a smashing success." It is good slick advertisement. It appeals to the people. Many of them have been working shifts in factories and mines since last year. Before they realize it, they are on their feet and shaking hands with their neighbours, perhaps a coal miner from Durham or a motor mechanic from Sheffield, a schoolteacher from Cardiff, or even their own wives and husbands, and singing the theme song: " Let's have a holiday at Butlin's." Rapidly the campers feel themselves to be a large family. Friendly rivalry is encouraged by the staging of competitions on a house-point basis. A house cup is awarded at the end of the week, and numerous prizes received by individual winners. The enthusiasm and comradeship of the Red Coats is infectious. Whatever the reason, the staff convey the impression that they are there to work for more than a seasonal pay cheque.

A chaplain working on a camp sees a good deal of the staff. Indeed a large part of his work is to minister to them. And as a commercial firm employing largely seasonal workers, Butlin's do much for their staff. Clearly the heads of departments are very carefully chosen. Many are well educated, and men and women of experience in staff-management. Seasonal workers who return for a second or third contract, receive progressively better pay. Many seasonal workers have completed eight or nine successive seasons. Co-operation with the Ministry of Labour does much to ensure satisfactory winter employment. The welfare of the staff is not neglected, and a hard and generally happy staff is the result.

Certainly the camper soon learns to rely on them. For the parents of young children a crèche is available where babies can be left in the care of trained nurses, while they go off to the theatre or dance floor or dining hall. The parents sign a register indicating their movements, and a system of patrols operates so that a message that " a baby is crying in chalet No. S.R.32 " can be flashed to any part of the camp. With the parents of young families, the camps are becoming increasingly popular.

The attention given to children is one of Butlin's most successful achievements. Babies under two years can be left in the care of trained nurses. Children from two to five years can be left in supervised playrooms. Children from six to 12 can safely wander round the camps, playing on the swings or boating lake, or putting greens or in sand-pits, and they come to no harm. And Uncle Boko entertains them in the Beaver Lodge, the headquarters of the Boys and Girls Club. Uncle Boko has a genius for playing with children. He gives a prize for the child who can pull the ugliest face. He is a conjuror and a first-class Punch and Judy showman. Making children happy is his vocation. And Auntie Boko, his wife, is equally able. Boko exercises a great power for good at Skegness, as do his opposite numbers at the other camps.

Apart from the parents, and the children, there is a third class of

camper who sometimes gives the camp controller some concern. They are the " good time " lads and lassies. Many of them are very decent people, who enjoy a good holiday. But a rowdy element tends to get in, and has to be watched. Rowdiness and vulgarity are not welcomed or tolerated, and a person guilty of making himself a nuisance has his money refunded and is sent home.

A person who goes to a camp with the idea of having a loose time with alcohol and sex must wonder what to make of the appearance of the camp chaplain at the " Who's Who " entertainment on the first evening. Having introduced Red Coats and comedians, entertainers and dancers, the compère calls for a change of mood. " Let's have a little Shsh," he says, " for tomorrow is Sunday, and time is naturally given to religious services. And now I want you to meet someone who will tell you about tomorrow's services, that most lovable personality, the camp chaplain." And to the accompaniment of a suitable *tremolo* chord from the orchestra, the padre, in black cassock, walks on to the stage. The spot light picks him out, and the packed audience, which has just been roaring at the antics of a check-trousered comedian, is strangely quiet.

Briefly the chaplain welcomes the campers in the name of the Church, speaks of the times of the different services, and lets the people know that the activity of the Church is a normal and accepted part of camp life. He retires. The show goes on.

Is it cheap? Is there the danger of appearing to popularize religion and to give a sanction to an inferior way of life? Most certainly; it is a situation that might very easily be mishandled, and with disastrous results. The senior chaplain and his colleagues are aware of these dangers. Long before they decided to appear in the " Who's Who "' programme, they were working to establish a steady religious life in the camps. The chaplains would agree that the most important activity they undertake is the daily celebration of Holy Communion. The Church's function, when chaplains first appeared in the camps, was to hold a big open-air service on occasional Sundays at a swimming pool or some other popular spot, and other Sundays remained almost mundane and secular. But in 1947 the chaplains decided that, as the Church had gone into Butlin's to minister to the people, then the people on their part must join in worship which some of them had neglected for many years, but which they could resume and continue in their own churches at home. And thus the daily celebration of Holy Communion in the camp church was established. In the theatre where other services are held, a proper altar is set up, furnished with linen, flowers and candles, good psalm and hymn singing is accompanied by a good organist, so that a camper, maybe casually dropping into a service, will see something that he will readily recognize as Christian worship. The danger of creating a Butlin religion has been avoided. The senior chaplain has resisted the temptation to become the head of a Butlin church. He remains what he essentially is,

the head of the Church at work in the Butlin camps.

Furthermore at the People's Service at 10.15 a.m. on Sunday mornings, when the congregation may number over a thousand (a fine sunny day following a week of rain can, of course, drastically reduce the size of the congregation), Anglicans and Free Church members readily join in worship together. This is done with the blessing of the Free Church leaders and the Anglican bishops. One cannot help feeling that at a time when re-union of the Christian churches is very much in people's minds, here is a common act of worship which must do something to further mutual understanding.

One of the responsibilities of the senior chaplain is to staff the camps with resident chaplains, most of whom are Anglican priests doing holiday duty in return for a fee and a free holiday for their families. Some camp chaplains are incumbents of small neighbouring parishes, who can undertake this extra work during the summer months from May to September.

The directors are generous with an allocation of free holidays for clergy and church workers and their families. More than a hundred free holidays have been given this year to people who, otherwise, would have had no holiday at all. This is one way in which the company shows its appreciation of the work which the Church is doing in the camps.

The chaplains' department is regarded as a most important part of the organization. The chaplain attends the weekly meeting of the heads of departments, and his word carries weight. A watch is kept on the type of entertainment provided in the theatres and dance halls, and a variety artist who will not co-operate with the chaplain will have some difficulty in renewing his contract. Many entertainers find it hard to appreciate the chaplain's attitude. A comedian is paid to raise laughs, and he knows that a sure way to raise what he calls a " belly laugh " is to overstep the line drawn by the censor. On a doubtful point of taste or morality he will often defend himself by quoting scripts passed by the BBC. Yet on a rainy day, when campers are more or less driven to seek entertainment in the camp theatres, what the BBC has seen fit to pass may not be suitable for a parent attending a show with his children. The chaplain, with the help of the camp controller and the entertainment manager, has to make the point that it is not a case merely of avoiding a criminal action for indecency, but rather one of contributing to the family life of the camp. What raises a " belly laugh " at Brixton on a Monday night does not go down well with the average family camper.

It would, of course, be false to suggest that there is a superior standard of conduct in a Butlin camp. People are people, wherever they may be. A man intent on committing some form of sin can doubtless find occasion for it in a camp as well as in Blackpool or Mayfair. The main point is that in the camps the Church is active and exerting an influence.

The camp day is dominated by the voice on the Tannoy broadcast

system informing the people of approaching events. It starts at 7.30 a.m. with the traditional cry of seagulls and the "Wakey-Wakey". Fifteen minutes later a peal of church bells is broadcast, and the loud-speakers are then silent for twenty minutes. Holy Communion is being celebrated in the camp Church. Two celebrations are held daily to fit in with the times of the two sittings for breakfast. Attendances are steady. During the last week of August, 200 acts of communion were made at Skegness at a time when there were 4000 campers on holiday.

At the People's Service on Sundays, at 10.15 a.m., a theatre, with stage lighting, microphones and amplifiers is used. This demands a special technique from the chaplain. Atmosphere has to be created; but that is part of his job. If he handles it well, he is in a unique position for first-class evangelism. Loyal church folk on holiday are there to support him; but half his congregation are indeed "sheep waiting to be fed." Judging from the pastoral work and private interviews that follow during the week, many people are being brought into touch with religion through these camp services. Chaplains wear their cassocks wherever they go. They speak to everyone, and are readily accepted. It is no exaggeration to say that people queue up to see the chaplain.

At 10.15 a.m. on Sundays the children meet together for an Uncle Boko entertainment, and a game of Yo-Yo. Specially selected Red Coats assist, and there is always a packed gallery of parents. And at 11 o'clock, as a normal part of the children's life in the camp, the chaplain appears. He calls on to the dais a small group of children to act as his choir, thereby winning the sympathy of the parents. There is a brief talk, a hymn, and a prayer. The service lasts ten minutes. A Punch & Judy show follows. Thus children learn, perhaps for the first time, that an act of worship is a normal part of a Christian's Sunday. Children who attend this service receive from the chaplain a signed certificate of attendance which is taken home at the end of the week and acts as a link between the camp and the parish church. Any contact made through the camp church must, where possible, be handed on to the parishes.

On Sunday evenings, sandwiched between two first-class variety entertainments which feature top-line West End artistes, there is a half-hour service of community hymn-singing. The same theatre is used for the entertainment and the hymn singing, and it is invariably packed. The chaplain takes a theme, and illustrates it from his selection of hymns which the people sing. The standard of congregational singing is surprisingly high. Here again the Church is teaching that an act of worship is a normal part of a Christian Sunday. The timing of this particular service catches the theatre-goer, and it presents another good opportunity for preaching the Gospel.

Sundays are, in fact, less arduous for the chaplain than weekdays. He is an accepted figure in the Butlin camp. As the week passes more and more people wish to see him. He visits the sick bay sometime after

breakfast every day. On camps of this size, there are inevitably a few cases of illness and accident. The roller-skating rink breaks one or two bones most weeks. Cases of serious illness are removed to the neighbouring town hospital. But the care of the sick is a major responsibility of the chaplain and, as in a parish, it is often the means of establishing contact with people who have drifted away from their religion.

It would be tedious ti list cases of pastoral care. (One case, however, merits mention. The stores manager of one camp resigns this month to train at a theological college for the priesthood. Here is an ex-sailor and ex-school-master, discovering his vocation in the Butlin organization through his contact with the camp church). Suffice to say that a camp chaplain is in a special position for meeting and making friends with people in great spiritual need, many of whom have somehow, and often through no fault of their own, been neglected by the Church elsewhere. It is readily admitted by churchmen that the Church has lost contact with vast numbers of industrial workers. The camp chaplain meets them, and knows from experience how utterly out of touch with Christianity these people are. And this situation has largely resulted from the failure of the Church in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to keep pace with the tremendous social and economic changes of the Industrial Revolution. Here in the Butlin organization is a new and important social factor. One may deplore the " canned " entertainment, and the mass-production; one may criticize the camps on cultural lines; one may deplore the fact that so many people want this sort of organized holiday. But it is a new factor in English life, and the Church is at work in it, in its early stages. Billy Butlin and his directors are to be congratulated on having the foresight to invite the Church to help them in the establishment of this new industry. And one could wish to see mining and industrial companies following their example. Such a development might well revolutionize social and industrial relations in England.

Why did Mr. Butlin invite the Church into the camps? Was it a publicity stunt? Was it to acquire an air of respectability? No-one knows. But from Billy Butlin's point of view it is clear that the instrument of the Church produces a happy and contented staff and, in return, the company has the services of an efficient staff. From the Church's point of view, with Mr. Butlin's full and generous support, the camps offer unique opportunities for twentieth century evangelism and pastoral care, and he would be a fool of a Christian who refused them.

(*The Rev. H. H. E. Peacock is chaplain at Bedford School and was a resident chaplain at Butlin's during August.*)

CONTEMPORARY OPINIONS—XIX

T. H. HUXLEY ON ADMINISTRATIVE NIHILISM

(*In this series of previously published* FORTNIGHTLY *articles these have been chosen for a number of reasons: either they review a now famous book, or their reviewer afterwards became famous, or he was already a famous figure speaking his mind about another equally famous, or about one who was later to be so. A further claim to inclusion is made for the treatment of a subject—then of pressing topical interest—which could be applied to, or point the moral of, or throw light on a problem of to-day. Although it is expected that their lessons will be instructive, this is incidental to the object of compiling a diverting anthology even when the writers are at their most serious.*)

In this second volume of 1871 from which these extracts are made, and in its next issue in fact, Herbert Spencer answers back with "Specialized Administration", a 28-page essay showing rather in sorrow than anger why Professor Huxley should "not have construed my view in the way he has done."

* * *

TO me . . . the great attempt to educate the people of England which has just been set afoot, is one of the most satisfactory and hopeful events in our modern history . . . A new-born infant does not come into the world labelled scavenger, shopkeeper, bishop or duke. One mass of red pulp is just like another to all outward appearance. And it is only by finding out what his faculties are good for, and seeking, not for the sake of gratifying a paltry vanity, but as the highest duty to himself and to his fellow-men to put himself into the position in which they can attain their full development, that the man discovers his true station . . . We have all known noble lords who would have been coachmen, or gamekeepers, or billiard-markers, if they had not been kept afloat by our social corks; we have all known men among the lowest ranks, of whom everyone has said: "What might not that man have become, if he had only had a little education?"

And who that attends, even in the most superficial way, the conditions upon which the stability of modern society—and especially of a society like ours, in which recent legislation has placed sovereign authority in the hands of the masses, whenever they are united enough to wield their power—can doubt that every man of high natural ability, who is both ignorant and miserable, is as great a danger to society as a rocket without a stick is to the people who fire it? Misery is a match that never goes

out; genius, as an explosive power, beats gunpowder hollow; and if knowledge, which should give that power guidance, is wanting the chances are not small that the rocket will simply run a-muck among friends and foes. What gives force to the socialistic movement which is now stirring European society to its depths, but determination on the part of the naturally able men among the proletariat, to put an end, somehow or other, to the misery and degradation in which a large proportion of their fellows are steeped? . . .

Thoughtfulness for others, generosity, modesty, and self-respect are the qualities which make a real gentleman, or lady, as distinguished from the veneered article which commonly goes by that name. I by no means wish to express any sentimental preference for Lazarus against Dives, but, on the face of the matter, one does not see why the practice of these virtues should be more difficult in one state of life than another; and any one who has had a wide experience among all sorts and conditions of men, will, I think, agree with me that they are as common in the lower ranks of life as in the higher.

Leaving the caste argument aside then . . . let us turn to the other class of objectors. To these, the Education Act is only one of a number of pieces of legislation to which they object on principle . . . The State is simply a policeman, and its duty is neither more nor less than to prevent robbery and murder and enforce contracts. It is not to promote good, nor even to do anything to prevent evil, except by the enforcement of penalties upon those who have been guilty of obvious and tangible assaults upon purses or persons. And, according to this view, the proper form of government is neither a monarchy, an aristocracy, nor a democracy, but an *astynomocracy*, or police government. On the other hand, these views are supported *a posteriori*, my an induction from observation, which professes to show that whatever is done by a Government beyond these negative limits is not only sure to be done badly, but to be done much worse than private enterprise would have done the same thing . . . The State lives in a glass house—we see what it tries to do, and all its failures, partial or total, are made the most of. But private enterprise is sheltered under good opaque bricks and mortar. The public rarely knows what it tries to do, and only hears of failures when they are gross and patent to all the world. Who is to say how private enterprise would come out if it tried its hand at State work? Those who have had most experience of joint-stock companies and their management, will probably be least inclined to believe in the innate superiority of private enterprise over State management. If continental bureaucracy and centralization be fraught with multitudinous evils, surely English beadleocracy and parochial obstruction are not altogether lovely . . .

Suppose, however, for the sake of argument, that we accept the proposition that the functions of the State may be properly summed up in the one great negative commandment—" Thou shalt not allow any man

to interfere with the liberty of any other man "—I am unable to see that the logical consequence is any such restriction of the power of government, as its supporters imply. If my next door neighbour chooses to have his drains in such a state as to create a poisonous atmosphere, which I breathe at the risk of typhus and diphtheria, he restricts my just freedom to live just as much as if he went about with a pistol, threatening my life; if he is to be allowed to let his children go unvaccinated, he might as well be allowed to leave strychnine lozenges about in the way of mine; and if he brings them up untaught and untrained to earn their living, he is doing his best to restrict my freedom, by increasing the burden of taxation for the support of gaols and workhouses, which I have to pay . . .

It is urged, I am aware, that if the right of the State to step beyond the assigned limits is admitted at all, there is no stopping; and that the principle which justifies the State in enforcing vaccination or education, will also justify it in prescribing my religious belief, or my mode of carrying on my trade or profession; in determining the number of courses I have for dinner, or the pattern of my waistcoat.

But surely the answer is obvious that, on similar grounds, the right of a man to eat when he is hungry might be disputed, because if you once allow that he may eat at all, there is no stopping him until he gorges himself, and suffers all the ills of a surfeit. In practice, the man leaves off when reason tells him he has had enough; and, in a properly organized State, the Government, being nothing but the corporate reason of the community, will soon find out when State interference has been carried far enough . . . The State, or corporate authority of the people, might with perfect propriety order my religion, or my waistcoat, if as good grounds could be assigned for such an order as for the command to educate my children.

One of the profoundest of living English philosophers, who is at the same time the most thoroughgoing and consistent of the champions of astynomocracy, has devoted a very able and ingenious essay to the drawing out of a comparison between the process by which men have advanced from the savage state to the highest civilization, and that by which an animal passes from the condition of an almost shapeless and structureless germ, to that in which it exhibits a highly complicated structure and a corresponding diversity of powers. Mr. Spencer says with great justice:

> That they gradually increase in mass; that they become, little by little, more complex; that, at the same time, their parts grow more mutually dependent; and that they continue to live and grow as wholes, while successive generations of their units appear and disappear—are broad peculiarities which bodies politic display, in common with all living bodies, and in which they and living bodies differ from everything else.

In a very striking passage of this essay Mr. Spencer shows with what singular closeness a parallel between the development of a nervous system, which is the governing power of the body in the series of animal

organisms, and that of government, in the series of social organisms, can be drawn:

> Strange as the assertion will be thought, our Houses of Parliament discharge in the social economy functions that are, in sundry respects, comparable to those discharged by the cerebral masses in a vertebrate animal . . . The cerebrum co-ordinates the countless heterogeneous considerations which affect the present and future welfare of the individual as a whole; and the legislature co-ordinates the countless heterogeneous considerations which affect the immediate and remote welfare of the whole community. We may describe the office of the brain as that of *averaging* the interests of life, physical, intellectual, moral, social; and a good brain is one in which the desires answering to their respective interests are so balanced, that the conduct they jointly dictate sacrifice none of them. Similarly we may describe the office of Parliament as that of *averaging* the interests of the various classes in a community; and a good Parliament is one in which the parties answering to these respective interests are so balanced, that their united legislation concedes to each class as much as consists with the claims of the rest.

All this appears to be very just. But if the resemblance between the body physiological and the body politic, are any indication, not only of what the latter is, and how it has become what it is, but of what it ought to be, and what it is tending to become, I cannot but think that the real force of the analogy is totally opposed to the negative view of State function.

Suppose that, in accordance with this view, each muscle were to maintain that the nervous system had no right to interfere with its contraction, except to prevent it from hindering the contraction of another muscle; or each gland, that it had a right to secrete, so long as its secretion interfered with no other; suppose every separate cell left free to follow its own " interests," and *laissez faire*, Lord of all, what would become of the body physiological?

The fact is that the sovereign power of the body thinks for the physiological organism, acts for it, and rules the individual components with a rod of iron. Even the blood corpuscles can't hold a public meeting without being accused of " congestion "—and the brain, like other despots whom we have known, calls out at once for the use of sharp steel against them . . .

Now a contract between any two men, implies a restriction of the freedom of each in certain particulars . . . Nor are constitutions, laws, or manners, in ultimate analysis, anything but so many expressed or implied contracts between the members of a society to do this, or abstain from that. To me this feature constitutes the difference between the social and the physiological organism. Among the higher physiological organisms, there is none which is developed by the conjunction of a number of primitively independent existences into a complex whole. The process of social organization appears to be comparable, not so much to the process of organic development, as to the synthesis of the chemist, by which independent elements are gradually built up into complex aggregations—in which each element retains an independent

individuality, though held in subordination to the whole. The atoms of carbon and hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, which enter into a complex molecule, do not lose the powers originally inherent in them, when they unite to form that molecule, the properties of which express those forces of the whole aggregation which are not neutralized and balanced by one another. Each atom has given up something, in order that the atomic society, or molecule, may subsist. And as soon as any one or more of the atoms thus associated, resumes the freedom which it has renounced, and follows some external attraction, the molecule is broken up, and all the peculiar properties which depended upon its constitution vanish.

Every society, great or small, resembles such a complex molecule, in which the atoms are represented by men, possessed of all those multifarious attractions and repulsions which are manifested in their desires and volitions, the unlimited power of satisfying which, we call freedom. The social molecule exists in virtue of the renunciation of more or less of this freedom by every individual. It is decomposed, when the attraction of desire leads to the resumption of that freedom the suppression of which is essential to the existence of the social molecule. And the great problem of that social chemistry we call politics, is to discover what desires of mankind may be granted, and what must be suppressed, if the highly complex compound, society, is to avoid decomposition. That the gratification of some of men's desires shall be renounced is essential to order; that the satisfaction of others shall be permitted is no less essential to progress; and the business of the sovereign authority—which, is or ought to be, simply a delegation of the people appointed to act for its good—appears to me to be, not only to enforce the renunciation of the anti-social desires, but, wherever it may be necessary, to promote the satisfaction of those which are conducive to progress . . .

But when men living in society have once become aware that their welfare depends upon two .opposing tendencies of equal importance—the one restraining, the other encouraging, individual freedom—the question " What are the functions of Government?" is translated into another—namely, what ought we men, in our corporate capacity, to do, not only in the way of restraining that free individuality which is inconsistent with the existence of society; but in encouraging that free individuality which is essential to the evolution of the social organization. The formula which truly defines the function of Government must contain the solution of both the problems involved, and not merely of one of them. Locke has furnished us with such a formula, in the noblest, and at the same time briefest, statement of the purpose of Government known to me: " The end of Government is the good of mankind." But the good of mankind is not a something which is absolute and fixed for all men, whatever their capacities or state of civilization. Doubtless it is possible to imagine a true " *Civitas Dei* " in which every man's moral faculty shall be such as leads him to control all those desires which run counter

to the good of mankind, and to cherish only those which conduce to the welfare of society; and in which every man's native intellect shall be sufficiently strong, and his culture sufficiently extensive, to enable him to know what he ought to do and to seek after . . .

But the eye of man has not beheld that State, and is not likely to behold it for some time to come. What we do see, in fact, is that States are made up of a considerable number of the ignorant and foolish, a small proportion of genuine knaves, and a sprinkling of capable and honest men, by whose efforts the former are kept in a reasonable state of guidance, and the latter of repression. And, such being the case, I do not see how any limit whatever can be laid down as to the extent to which, under some circumstances, the action of Government may be rightfully carried.

Was our own Government wrong in suppressing Thuggee in India? If not, would it be wrong in putting down any enthusiast who attempted to set up the worship of Astarte in the Haymarket? Has the State no right to put a stop to gross and open violations of common decency? And if the State has, as I believe it has, a perfect right to do all these things, are we not bound to admit, with Locke, that it may have a right to interfere with "Popery" and "Atheism" if it be really true that the practical consequences of such beliefs can be proved to be injurious to civil society? . . . The difficulty which meets the statesman is the same as that which meets us all in individual life, in which our abstract rights are generally clear enough though it is frequently extremely hard to say at what point it is wise to cease our attempts to enforce them.

The notion that the social body should be organized in such a manner as to advance the welfare of its members, is as old as political thought; as the schemes of Plato, More, Robert Owen, St. Simon, Comte, and the modern socialists, bear witness . . .

I take it that the good of mankind means the attainment, by every man, of all the happiness which he can enjoy without diminishing the happiness of his fellow-men. If we inquire what kinds of happiness come under this definition, we find those derived from the sense of security or peace; from wealth, or commodity, obtained by commerce; from art—whether it be architecture, sculpture, painting, music, or literature; from knowledge, or science; and, finally, from sympathy or friendship. No man is injured, but the contrary, by peace. No man is any the worse off because another acquires wealth by trade, or by the exercise of a profession; on the contrary, he cannot have acquired his wealth, except by benefiting others to the full extent of what they considered to be its value; and his wealth is no more than fairy gold if he does not go on benefiting others in the same way. A thousand men may enjoy the pleasure derived from a picture, a symphony, or a poem, without lessening the happiness of the most devoted connoisseur. The investigation of nature is an infinite pasture-ground, where all may graze, and where

the more bite the longer the grass grows, the sweeter is its flavour, and the more it nourishes. If I love a friend it is no damage to me, but rather a pleasure, if all the world also love him and think of him as highly as I do.

It appears to be universally agreed, for the reasons already mentioned, that it is unnecessary and undesirable for the State to attempt to promote the acquisition of wealth by any direct interference with commerce. But . . . may the State make a road, or build a harbour, when it is quite clear that by so doing it will open up a productive district, and thereby add enormously to the total wealth of the community? And if so, may the State, acting for the general good, take charge of the means of communication between its members, or of the postal and telegraph services? I have not yet met with any valid argument against the property of the State doing what our Government does in this matter; except the assumption, which remains to be proved, that Government will manage these things worse than private enterprise would do. Nor is there any agreement upon the still more important question whether the State ought, or ought not, to regulate the distribution of wealth. If it ought not, then all legislation which regulates inheritance—the statute of Mortmain, and the like—is wrong in principle; and, when a rich man dies, we ought to return to the state of nature, and have a scramble for his property. If, on the other hand, the authority of the State is legitimately employed in regulating these matters, then it is an open question, to be decided entirely by evidence as to what tends to the highest good of the people, whether we keep our present laws, or whether we modify them. At present the State protects men in the possession and enjoyment of their property, and defines what that property is. The justification for its so doing is that its action promotes the good of the people. If it can be clearly proved that the abolition of property would tend still more to promote the good of the people, the State will have the same justification for abolishing property that it now has for maintaining it.

Again, I suppose it is universally agreed that it would be useless and absurd for the State to attempt to promote friendship and sympathy between man and man directly. But I see no reason why, if it be otherwise expedient, the State may not do something towards that end indirectly. For example, I can conceive the existence of an Established Church which should be a blessing to the community. A Church in which, week by week, services should be devoted not to the intention of abstract propositions in theology, but to the setting before men's minds of an ideal of true, just, and pure living; a place in which those who are weary of the burden of daily care, should find a moment's rest in the contemplation of the higher life which is possible for all, though attained by so few; a place in which the man of strife and of business should have time to think how small, after all, are the rewards he covets compared with peace and charity. Depend upon it, if such a Church existed, no one

would seek to disestablish it.

Whatever the State may not do, however, it is universally agreed that it may take charge of the maintenance of internal and external peace. Even the strongest advocate of administrative nihilism admits that Government may prevent aggression of one man on another. But this implies the maintenance of an army and navy, as much as of a body of police; it implies a diplomatic as well as a detective force; and it implies, further, that the State, as a corporate whole, shall have distinct and definite views as to its wants, powers, and obligations.

For independent States stand in the same relation to one another as men in a state of nature, or unlimited freedom. Each endeavours to get all it can, until the inconvenience of the state of war suggests either the formation of those express contracts we call treaties, or mutual consent to those implied contracts which are expressed by international law. The moral rights of a State rest upon the same basis as those of an individual. If any number of States agree to observe a common set of international laws, they have, in fact, set up a sovereign authority or supranational government, the end of which, like that of all governments, is the good of mankind; and the possession of as much freedom by each State, as is consistent with the attainment of that end. But there is this difference: that the government thus set up over nations is ideal, and has no concrete representative of the sovereign power; whence the only way of settling any dispute finally is to fight it out. Thus the supranational society is continually in danger of returning to the state of nature, in which contracts are void; and the possibility of this contingency justifies a government in restricting the liberty of its subjects in many ways, that would otherwise be unjustifiable.

Finally, with respect to the advancement of science and art. I have never yet had the good fortune to hear any valid reason alleged why that corporation of individuals we call the State may not do what voluntary effort fails in doing, either from want of intelligence or lack of will. And here it cannot be alleged that the action of the State is always hurtful. On the contrary, in every country in Europe, universities, public libraries, picture galleries, museums, and laboratories, have been established by the State, and have done infinite service to the intellectual and moral progress, and the refinement, of mankind . . .

Individually, I have no love for academies on the Continental model, and still less for the system of decorating men of distinction in science, letters, or art, with orders and titles, or enriching them with sinecures. What men of science want is only a fair day's wages for more than a fair day's work; and most of us, I suspect, would be well content if, for our days and nights of unremitting toil, we could secure the pay which a first-class Treasury clerk earns without any obviously trying strain upon his faculties. The sole order of nobility which, in my judgment, becomes a philosopher, is that rank which he holds in the estimation of his fellow-

workers, who are the only competent judges in such matters. Newton and Cuvier lowered themselves when the one accepted an idle knighthood, and the other became a baron of the empire. The great men who went to their graves as Michael Faraday and George Grote seem to me to have understood the dignity of knowledge better when they declined all such meretricious trappings.

But it is one thing for the State to appeal to the vanity and ambition which are to be found in philosophical as in other breasts, and another to offer men who desire to do the hardest of work for the most modest of tangible rewards, the means of making themselves useful to their age and generation. And this is just what the State does when it founds a public library or museum, or provides the means of scientific research by such grants of money as that administered by the Royal Society.

It is one thing, again, for the State to take all the higher education of the nation into its own hands; it is another to stimulate and to aid, while they are yet young and weak, local efforts to the same end. The Midland Institute, Owen's College in Manchester, the newly instituted Science College in Newcastle, are all noble products of local energy and munificence. But the good they are doing is not local—the commonwealth, to its uttermost limits, shares in the benefits they confer; and I am at a loss to understand upon what principle of equity the State, which admits the principle of payment on results, refuses to give a fair equivalent of these benefits; or on what principle of justice the State, which admits the obligation of sharing the duty of primary education with a locality, denies the existence of the obligation when the higher education is in question.

To sum up: If the positive advancement of the peace, wealth, and the intellectual and moral development of its members, are objects which the Government, as the representative of the corporate authority of society, may justly strive after, in fulfilment of its end—the good of mankind—then it is clear that the Government may undertake to educate the people. For education promotes peace by teaching men the realities of life and the obligations which are involved in the very existence of society; it promotes intellectual development, not only by training the individual intellect, but by sifting out from the masses of ordinary or inferior capacities, those which are competent to increase the general welfare by occupying higher positions; and, lastly, it promotes morality and refinement, by teaching men to discipline themselves, and by leading them to see that the highest, as it is the only permanent, content is to be attained, not by grovelling in the rank and steaming valleys of sense, but by continual striving towards those high peaks, where, resting in eternal calm, reason discerns the undefined but bright ideal of the highest Good —" a cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night."

November, 1871

THE INWARD EYE—IV

By Norman Nicholson

WHEN in 1929, at the age of fifteen, I was given my first wireless set it seemed above all else a means of contact with the famous. Living as I did in a remote Cumberland town, my only glimpses of them until then had been of the Prince of Wales laying a wreath on the war memorial and of Herbert Sutcliffe fielding on the boundary. Now the great came within speaking distance: Shaw, Wells, Chesterton. And how magnificently they took to the new medium! Shaw made every broadcast a national occasion: "Your Majesties, your Royal Highnesses, your Excellencies, your Graces and Reverences, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen" he began, and continued, with beautiful irony, "I am going to talk about democracy." Wells had neither Shaw's confidence nor his voice, yet he prepared his scripts with care and with a sense of responsibility to the thousands upon thousands who looked on him as the father-figure of the modern mind. In those days, the B.B.C. did not ask such men to talk on any particular subject; they just asked them to talk. There were exciting series with titles like "Points of View" and "Whither Britain?"—"Whither Britain," said Shaw, "What a question! I don't know and you know I don't know."

Chesterton was a broadcaster of a very different character. Unlike Shaw or Wells he could not come forward as the ancient and honoured leader of a popular revolution. He moved, as he well knew, against the tide, like a huge porpoise, bristling with prejudices. Every word he spoke was for himself alone, yet carried the authority of a lifetime spent in accordance with that word. His very paradoxes had the habitual, take-it-for-granted self-assurance of other men's platitudes. Had the B.B.C. encouraged him he might have built himself into a one-man salon, a radio sage, a twentieth-century Dr. Johnson, whose bias, mistakes and wrong judgments would have been worth more than all the Third Programme's tact and taste. Even the minor figures of the radio of that time, the teachers and reviewers—Walford Davies, Desmond McCarthy, Mr. Middleton—all had something of this monumental seriousness about them. There were, as has been said, giants in those days.

The retreat of the great, or at least the *literary* great, from radio began in the 1930's. Partly, no doubt, this was because of the decline in the novelty of radio. Partly it was because the literary figures of the 1930's were no longer public figures. Mr. Eliot always broadcasts in a tenta-

tive way as if he doubted whether the sort of people who listen are likely to be able to understand him. Messrs. Auden, MacNeice and Day Lewis, in spite of the great popularity of their poetry, failed to project themselves into the consciousness of the general public. All of them, and especially Mr. MacNeice, have done notable work for radio, but almost anonymously, as craftsmen and experimenters. Dylan Thomas alone of his generation was able to create in sound a picture, if something of a caricature, of a personality which could catch the imagination of the thousands.

Recently, however, an attempt has been made to provide for the general listener an introduction to one of the truly great men of our time. Albert Schweitzer holds a strategic place between the believing world and the unbelieving. The latter, indeed, finds in him a curiously sympathetic figure. For his humanity, his years of self-sacrifice in Central Africa, his love of music, represent to the tolerant agnostic most of what still seems (to him) to have value in the Christian tradition.

Edward Livesey's programme, " Reverence for Life ", aimed to present something of what Albert Schweitzer has achieved as theologian, musician, missionary, and philosopher. Allowing for inevitable compression, an honest effort was made to suggest the eschatological view behind *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*. If the idea was over-simplified and its implications ignored, at least it was not distorted, and it had the authority of Dr. Schweitzer's own words. The section on the musician had authority, too; this time the authority of Dr. Schweitzer's own performance—though I should have thought that a recording of one of the Chorale Preludes would have illustrated the organist's conception of Bach better than the G Minor fugue, lovely as that is.

Yet in spite of this double authority, and in spite of a sincere and careful script, the programme failed because of a preposterous mistake in production: Dr. Schweitzer's own words were spoken by an actor with a German accent. Moreover, they were spoken in an accent which sounded midway between Ludwig Koch and Peter Ustinov impersonating a middle European professor of God knows what. It was a parody of a personality, of which the wrong emphasis, the hesitations, the gropings after words were totally at variance with the assurance of the arguments they expressed. Does Mr. Livesey really believe that Dr. Schweitzer *thinks* in broken English? His script makes it clear that he does not, and I would suggest that this programme should be repeated in a production that will give that script the chance it deserves.

(*Mr. Nicholson's fifth article on radio listening will be published in the November number of* THE FORTNIGHTLY.)

THE HOUSE THAT PASSED

By S. L. Bensusan

"DON'T take this road," said the elderly scholar now living in retirement, whose face was familiar though we had not met for years. I had passed his gate and disturbed his gardening to remind him of an earlier meeting and ask him about a short cut. "The house is a wreck in course of demolition," he went on; "gardens have disappeared, the park has lost its trees and become an aerodrome; there's hardly a man or woman whose face you will recognize. Gamekeepers, grooms, gardeners, have gone, nearly all who remember have passed or are scattered."

"In spite of what you say," I told him, "it is hard to go back after coming so far; I have a good companion to keep me company. His name is memory. He can restore house, gardens and park; he can call back days that were. All or nearly all that was will return, if only for a little while. He will accept my tribute of gratitude to some of those who sleep in the village churchyard, or whose names are recorded on tablets within its walls. He will take Time in charge and compel him to bring back many glad hours. I'll think of seasons when the world was peaceful, life tranquil, and innocent pleasure had its part to play in a countryside that offered happiness to all who knew where to look for it." My friend looked doubtful.

"Change came less than half a century ago after long years of ease," I reminded him. "Three or four decades have sufficed to blot out the tradition of three centuries, they have scattered the little world in which none looked for change, in which the oak trees of the park could look forward to the coming and going of still more generations. But nothing is yet lost to what remains of mine; it can recall so much." "Well do what you think best" said the man with the secateurs, "but don't blame me if you get a bad shock. I've tried to warn you. After all, country houses in ruins and woodland destroyed may be found in most counties, and those who try to hold up 'the stately homes of England' have an impossible task."

"Nothing can quite die," I persisted, "until all who knew it have passed. I can people the house with men and women who would be centenarians to-day; I may well be alone in remembering some of them. But until the last of their contemporaries have gone, they can say with Horace "*Non omnis moriar*". "I remember you always loved a tag," he said smiling as he returned to his roses, and I resumed my journey

in thoughtful mood.

When I first knew the house, it was served by its own railway station in the park. Motor cars were unknown, London was 40 miles away so a halt was built. This was not the only amenity. Because many of the visitors were of the ruling class, a special postal service was called for to meet the needs of Cabinet Ministers, ambassadors and others of high degree who came for weekend gatherings at which the representatives of two political parties—there was then no third—met on terms of amity and goodwill; sometimes they even devised and agreed minor points of policy. In due season there was hunting and there was shooting; one stand between the woods was described by the then Heir Apparent as second to none; high birds fell from the sky at the bidding of some of the finest shots in England, experts in killing if lacking other accomplishments. The park was full of deer, the lakes full of fish, the hothouses yielded rare fruit, early and late. Nothing that luxury could demand or wealth supply was to seek, but achievement was presented so modestly that the atmosphere of home was never lost; service was noiseless as it was efficient. A tradition of lavish hospitality had persisted since the spacious days of the first Elizabeth, when one of her statesmen built the house.

Pomp and ceremony at the end of the Victorian era, and in the fullness of the Edwardian and fifth Georgian period I can remember, and was permitted to share; over all was an air of refinement that gave complete assurance to those who came and went. There was no reason to believe that the years held any change in store, or that " dawn was at hand to strike the loud feast dumb."

Yet I recall a pregnant saying by the head of the house, a man of rarest charm and kindliness, made one afternoon when we sat in his study talking of early years. " I have the feeling," he said " that we are coming to the end of an era. The future will not be so easy as to-day. I am, I fear, the last of my family to enjoy a carefree time." How truly he spoke in a season, when the horizon was still unclouded and the approach to the 1914-1918 war unsuspected. God was in heaven, all was right with the world, the comfortable classes were the special care of providence, and Keir Hardie had not approached the Mother of Parliaments under a cloth cap.

A curious and pleasing feature of the old house was the pride of its retainers. To-day material advantages weigh heavily; in the last days of the Victorian era and the time that followed a singular contentment ruled. Wages, judged by modern standards were very low, the head gardener, the head keeper, the butler and the housekeeper received small money, the rank and file were ill-paid though seldom over-worked. I can recall a company of men servants whose service was of the smallest; they were merely decorative. But one and all rejoiced in their status, they knew themselves part of a great country house and this sufficed.

A few who saved money might leave to take a small public house and thrive upon the prestige of the family they had served. There were men and women, too, who came in their teens and lived to grey hair with a pension and a couple of rooms in what were called the almshouses. Old age was unprotected then, but nobody who had given faithful service died in want.

On Sunday the clergyman came into his own. The parish church was in the park. Most of the ladies of the house-parties and some of the men would attend. The service might wait for their arrival and at its conclusion the *hoi polloi* stood up until the house-party had passed the door. Women still 'made their obedience', that is, curtsied, to the family; social distinctions were very clearly marked, but while feudalism carried neither sting nor stigma, cases of misfortune and hardship, suffering and loss never lacked help. In those days when the farm worker lived as best he could and supported the family on a wage that stayed on the near side of 15 shillings, when the cottages were overcrowded and without any kind of amenities, sickness was rife. There were shelters in some gardens; often they would hold some tuberculous child who would pass in its teens. Yet it was better to lie in the open air and watch the world go round than die in an overcrowded bedroom with a window that was not built to open. There were no midwives but a 'laying-in basket' circulated and an expectant mother could claim it without payment, her only duty to return everything clean for the next applicant.

Etiquette was far flung; it stretched to the servant's hall over which the housekeeper presided. There the valet or maid of peer or peeress took precedence over those of a baronet, a knight or a mere untitled person and the dining room of the servants' hall was as carefully appointed as the dining room upstairs.

I remember an occasion when two ambassadors claimed the right to take the hostess in to dinner. Her admirable tact was needed to find a way out, but it was not easy, and later she referred the case to the King, Edward the Seventh. He smiled and said: "I am afraid that my dining table is the only one that can carry two ambassadors without any risk of friction. You should be content with one at a time." To the rival applicants it was more than a mere social occasion; the honour of their respective countries was apparently at stake.

There was a business side and a social side to be borne in mind and, politics apart, many affairs of vast social moment were not only discussed freely but actually settled in the library, the drawing room and the lounge. I could give chapter and verse but there is an old saying in the East: "He who betrays a confidence is no longer master of it." Remembering that, I kept private all social secrets entrusted to me and keep them private still, though those who entrusted them have gone before and the country house in which I heard the greater part of them

has gone too. If revealed, some of the stories would enjoy a circulation that my books could only envy. I had my reward: "I knew we could rely on your discretion," said a great lady, following a great occasion; "I have always regarded you as a friend, not as a journalist," said a still greater man. Such statements were worth many guineas; I might have spent the money, I can still treasure the sentiments. They have not only survived the speakers but the house in which the most significant events were discussed with a frankness that belonged to the years.

It is the plight of the park to-day that impresses me most deeply. Bernadin de Saint Pierre tells us that Jean Jacques Rousseau was more deeply affected by the sight of a park in ruins than by a ruined castle. Here, to-day, are the stumps of trees that were growing when an eminent Elizabethan built the house that was to stand if only in part for more than 300 years and but for vandalism of the military might have escaped demolition. The park had to go, since runways are an indispensable part of an aerodrome.

"The C.O. has flown over your wood," a young officer told me—he came from an aerodrome a couple of miles away—"and he has decided that it can stand." My old friend's woods and parkland were 50 times as large, and they had to go. My oaks and chestnuts and rare beech trees remain. Woodland has been under sentence of death; here and there we learn of a reprieve. Slowly and remorselessly aerodromes and death duties work their will.

In a secluded corner of the park, from a picturesque cottage with a small library of books on gardening, a gentle friendly old man held charge of the 'Garden of Friendship'. Here distinguished men and women had planted a tree or flower of remembrance; in some cases the planting was in memory of a friend who had gone before. Only those who are responsive to the beauty of a secluded garden planned to enshrine memories of those who went away can feel the thrill that would come when the garden gate leading from the wood was opened. To-day they tell me nothing remains and I think they must be wrong even though "only the sun and the rain come hither all year long."

But to find desolation usurping the place of beauty, to see where love and devotion and good fellowship have gone to waste is to invite a sense of depression that even a sunny summer day cannot dispel. So I left the Garden of Friendship as I saw it last, full of peace and beauty. "Impermanent are all created things," said the Buddha. The house, the park, the garden and those who placed them so generously at the disposal of their friends have passed and the youngest of those who can remember them are growing old; may they find consolation as I have done in the memory of what the years held.

(*Mr. Bensusan, who has contributed to* THE FORTNIGHTLY *for more than half a century, was* 82 *on September* 29.)

OCTOBER SUNDAY: MALVERN

Lean from the sill and hear these Malvern bells
Spill down a morning washed in waves of silence,
Cool on the lucent air as fall of fountains.
Toy spires and trees along the Severn plain
Rise far below like masts from pools of mist,
While bonfires wreathe the bronze chrysanthemums
Tawnily ragged in the tangled gardens,
And one great chestnut, gold as candleflame,
Pays out its old debt to the harvested earth:
Each slow leaf falling—falling like the bells
That, glittering, shake this blue and Sunday stillness,
Filling the valley, echoing round the hills.

As innocent as first remembered childhood,
Or shivering harebell on the autumn height,
These sabbath chimes, that the heart aches to hear:
With love too large to hold, too fierce to bear
Pierced suddenly, for all that breathe and share

Under the sky, this still October morning,
The privilege and mystery of living,
On whom this sun dispenses equal blessing:
Warming the blowsy slut in carpet slippers
Slopping along the path, the mangy cur
Nosing the garbage bin; two sleek grey sparrows
Companionably pecking at one crust,
The leisurely flies that wash and bask their wings;
And spread below, that green and spacious plain
Shining benignly on when we are dust
Who listen to the bells peal through the valley
To-day, and watch the leaves, the bright leaves falling.

All moves to the same tune: slow dance of leaf
And life back to the earth, ascending smoke
Where unseen fires consume the hours away.
This shower of bells proclaiming harvest home

Has one refrain; and hearing, we are dumb
Before the message of mortality.

Each wears its light this morning—puts on brightness
Beyond his nature: man and cur and sparrow,
Haloed by it, an alien grace are given,
This transient autumn threaded by the falling
Of yellow leaves that knell the living moment,
And bells that chime assurances of heaven.

MARGARET WILLY

MEDITATION AFTER AUGUSTINE

You made us for your self and incomplete
We have no peace apart,
With every flower and face you beat
A path into the heart
And send your welcome spies unceasingly
To undermine the hill
Of stubborn pride until you bend and ply
Brute dust into your will.

You made us for your self and you ordained
This hunger in the soul
For truth and grace, each atom strictly trained
To anguish for the whole,
And at all points we boasted we were strong
Or weakest equally
We undergo mortal defeat and long
For full divinity.

No human love or dearest friendship dims
The heaven-desiring sight,
Or wholly satisfies a life that brims
With laughter and delight,
And as all lovely things, seen and unseen,
Are one in bright desire,
So all the loves of all our days we glean
As kindling to your fire.

JOHN BARRON MAYS

THE EFFECT OF NEW IDEAS UPON MODERN POETRY

By Howard Sergeant

MODERN critics are fond of pointing out that much of the poetry which has been written during the last 50 years and which is usually regarded as revolutionary in aim or achievement has, in some respects, been the most traditional. One reason for the failure of so many readers to recognize this fact is that they frequently have a limited appreciation of what constitutes the English tradition, and how the English tradition has drawn upon the resources of other nations. Nevertheless, whatever contemporary poetry may owe to traditional practice, there can be no doubt that for many of us poetry to-day seems far more complex than that of any earlier period, and the difficulty in understanding it properly is not to be swept away by explanations as to how the poetic techniques of the past have been exploited by contemporary poets. To a certain extent the difficulty arises because, being confronted by something new, we are called upon to make a genuine effort to think for ourselves, whereas the poetry written in other ages has already been assimilated for us, and we have been taught what to expect and what we ought to admire. But we must not forget that the very poets we now enjoy for their clarity of thought were, in many cases, criticized for their methods by readers of their day. The new art-form always causes irritation, and often provokes violent antagonism simply because it is unfamiliar.

The poet is particularly sensitive to current ideas, to the problems, tensions, beliefs, institutions, morals and way of life of the age and society to which he belongs; and the present age is one in which new knowledge and revolutionary ideas have utterly changed man's conception, not only of the universe, but also of the world within himself. Our acquaintance with the work of such poets as Shakespeare, Blake and Wordsworth has shown us that the poet, by means of his peculiar insight, may be aware of hidden forces in action long before the scientific terms to describe them and their functions have been devised. In his essay on *Freud and Literature*, Mr. Lionel Trilling records that " when, on the occasion of his seventieth birthday, Freud was greeted as ' the discoverer of the unconscious ', he corrected the speaker and disclaimed the title. ' The poets and the philosophers before me discovered the unconscious,' he said. ' What I discovered was the scientific method by which the unconscious can be studied.' " So that although psychology is properly concerned

with what has always been the raw material of the poet, as a result of Freud's systematic explorations of the human mind the poet has become more conscious of himself and of the actual processes involved in the transformation of his experience into poetry. To complicate matters still further, discoveries in various spheres of knowledge during the last 50 years have had a tremendous impact upon him. To give any adequate account of the new creative potencies which, together with the traditions and techniques of the past, have exerted their influence upon contemporary poetry it will, therefore, be necessary to consider, however briefly, a few of the new scientific ideas which have helped to change the pattern of our thought and belief.

If the evolutionary theories, supported by geological discoveries, of the nineteenth century had induced the Victorians to accept a mechanical and materialistic conception of life and the universe which practically excluded belief in a personal God, and of man as master of himself, rapidly attaining to a complete mastery of his environment, forces were already in motion which were to shatter the complacency of these illusions. Hartman's study of the subconscious and the theories of Taine, Ribot, Charcot and other pioneers may be instanced. In America William James published his *Principles of Psychology* (1890) and introduced the concept of the subliminal self, the " self below the threshold of consciousness, which may at any time make an eruption into our ordinary lives." James was also responsible for the invention of the term ' stream of consciousness ' to describe the operation of man's mental processes, a term which was eagerly seized upon by later novelists searching for a valid means of presenting the inner life of their characters. Perhaps his most important contribution to American and European thought was his philosophy of pragmatism, published in 1907, which, with its rejection of absolutes—" all neat schematisms with permanent and absolute distinctions, classifications with absolute pretensions "—paved the way for modern empirical methods of approach to scientific problems. According to pragmatic theory truth is determined not by objective and abstract standards, but by its capacity to satisfy the immediate needs of man, as proved by experience. The pragmatist, according to James, insists upon turning away " from abstraction and insufficiency, from verbal solutions, from bad *a priori* reasons, from fixed principles, closed systems, and pretended absolutes and origins. He turns towards *facts*, towards *action* and towards *power*." If this theory, by asserting that all questions must be referred to the needs of mankind, has stimulated humanist ideas, it will be observed that it bears some resemblance to the dialectical materialism of the Marxists and, with its emphasis upon action, easily lends itself to distortion in support of the methods of Fascism (indeed, Mussolini claimed to have been influenced by William James).

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, too, Freud was engaged

on his psycho-therapeutic researches. His first account of our mental apparatus, *The Interpretation of Dreams*, was published in 1900, but some years elapsed before the full extent of his discoveries was appreciated. Having learned that, by the use of hypnotism, victims of nervous disorders might be cured—though often the cure was only temporary—if the memories beneath the surface of consciousness could be brought to light, he proposed to himself the task of finding a more efficacious method of locating the buried memories at the root of the trouble and drawing them out of the unconscious of his patients. The technique Freud evolved for his purpose was to persuade the patient to relax into such a condition that he could allow uncensored expression to the thoughts flowing through his mind, whatever their nature or origin, each thought giving rise to the next, image calling to image, ideas evoking their associations like clues emerging in a detective-mystery story, until the opposing forces responsible for setting up the unconscious conflicts would, with a little assistance from the analyst, at last be recognized by the patient for what they were. It was found that once the patient had become *completely* aware of the causes of his conflicts his symptoms gradually disappeared. In practice difficulties arose because some of the repressed impulses were so unpleasant and so much in conflict with the moral standards or conscious ideas of the patient that stubborn resistance to psycho-analysis was encountered.

That is why *The Interpretation of Dreams* was so important. Freud's investigation revealed that the repressed memories, which are always striving to break through the barriers erected by the conscious mind, find a means of asserting themselves in the dream life of the individual. To do this, to escape the notice of the repressive forces, they adopt a symbolic language into which several meanings may be compressed, and arrange themselves into an acceptable, if irrational, sequence or story. So that beneath the surface material of the dream the latent material secures an outlet unknown to the dreamer. The analyst, then, endeavours to interpret the various symbols presented in the dream in order to discern the hidden motives, and in this he is assisted by the fact that many symbols are common to us all. As A. S. J. Tessimond expresses it in his poem, *The Psychiatrist Speaks*:

> And then—when I (or rather you)
> Have found the last and deepest clue,
> The hate you hate, the fear you fear,
> The worm that lies beneath the stone,
> The ghost in that one room alone
> Whose door you never dare unlock,
> The secret you've forgotten so
> Successfully so long ago . . .
>
> Then I say, " Learn at last to live
> Without your sackcloth, to forgive

Yourself the innocent sin, to cast
The burden of guilt away at last."

These discoveries were made in the course of Freud's researches as a medical psychologist, but it will readily be seen how valuable they were to poets, once they were understood. What poets in the past had been aware of as a vague, indefinable element of their work now had scientific backing and validity. The dark unknown areas of the human mind had been opened up for cultivation. For some time there was a tendency to resort to the use of this dream language without discrimination, to litter poems with images having relevance only for the poet himself, and to be satisfied with presenting fragments of this raw material of poetry before they had been subjected to the craftsmanship demanded by the finished work of art. Indeed, because it was evident that the values of western civilization had broken down and were no longer applicable to existing conditions, the surrealists deliberately chose to exploit this method of expression as an artistic gesture of defiance. In the words of André Breton's Manifesto, issued in 1924, surrealism is " pure psychic automatism by which it is intended to express, verbally or in writing, or by any other means, the real processes of thought. Thought's dictation in the absence of all control exercised by the reason and outside all aesthetic or moral preoccupations. Surrealism rests in the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of association previously neglected, in the omnipotence of dreams, and the disinterested play of thought . . ." It is hardly surprising that readers, unequipped with the psycho-analyst's knowledge, and attempting to trace a rational pattern of thought, should experience difficulty in understanding all forms of art based on free association akin to that in the latent content of dreams. It is true that the best poets have, by their instinctive use of universal symbols, been able to reach a fairly wide audience, but more often than not the surrealist poet succeeded only in expressing symptoms peculiar to himself, and though these might unconsciously strike a chord in the reader's mind so far as they had a general bearing, they were by no means a precise medium of communication.

At this juncture it may be propitious to refer to the ideas of Carl Jung, one of Freud's best-known disciples and collaborators, and a student of sacred eastern literature. As Jung envisaged it, the psycho-analyst had not completed his task until, in addition to ascertaining the causes of mental disorder and making the patient recognize them too, he had, as part of his treatment, assisted the patient towards a new orientation by which life could be maturely faced in the future. For him the ' libido ' or motive-force of human activity was not, as it was for Freud, fundamentally sexual, though it might manifest itself in a concern with sexual gratifications; it was, he decided, more in the nature of a vital energy, operating in diverse ways and at different levels—a life-force, as it were. While he accepted the Freudian conception of the unconscious as the

storehouse of repressed memories and impulses going back to early childhood (perhaps even to the prenatal state) and capable of setting up strains and conflicts of varying intensity, Jung extended it to include memories not only of the individual but of the whole human race, passed down as an inheritance from the earliest periods of existence. The symbols of this racial or collective region of the unconscious he termed archetypes or primordial images. Whether Jung's ideas are accepted in their entirety or not, his archetypal theories do seem to find strong support in the fact that the same symbolic figures and patterns appear in the myths, legends and folk-lore of different nations. Moreover, it is by this time fairly well established that certain recurrent symbols, which cannot be attributed solely to the personal memories of the individual, are common to the dreams of us all. The Jungian theories help to explain why the symbols of some poems exercise such compelling power as to arouse deep instinctive feeling in the reader before the intellectual context of the poems in which they occur has been grasped (often provoking hostility on that account). Seen in this light the strange characters to be encountered in the work of William Blake—the Four Zoas, the Spectre, the Emanations, etc.—shed much of their obscurity; for instance, the Zoas, " who are the four Eternal Senses of Man " and represented as being always in conflict while Albion sleeps, are primordial images and can easily be identified with the main types of mental activity since distinguished by Jung—Tharmas (sensation), Luvah (feeling), Urizen (thought), and Los (intuition). Other figures can similarly be related. In fact, it is remarkable how close the parallel is between Jungian psychology and the symbolic pattern of Blake's *Prophetic Books*.

As an indirect result of the dissemination of Jung's theories we can expect to find, among other features of contemporary poetry, an increasing preoccupation with archetypal imagery; and in the work of such poets as Yeats, T. S. Eliot, Edwin Muir, Robert Graves, W. H. Auden and Dylan Thomas, this is precisely what we do find, though at different levels of experience. I do not wish to imply that contemporary poets have access to a rich source of material denied to poets of earlier times. Archetypes have always constituted an important element of the language of the unconscious and, therefore, have always been available to the poet, who, by the very nature of his vocation, is able to make contact with that primordial region of the mind from which these symbols emerge. Miss Maude Bodkin, in her *Archetypal Patterns in Poetry*, has, in fact, enumerated and classified a number of such symbols to be found in our literature. But the poet of to-day, having assimilated the new knowledge revealed by modern psychology, has a clearer understanding of the mental operation by which the poem is created, and in the process of selecting words and images for his purpose he will be inclined, even if involuntarily, to choose those which will convey his special experience by calling forth in the reader or hearer an associative response

akin to his own. In other words, he will make use of the archetypal language common to all men in order to penetrate to greater depths of feeling. In one of his later poems Edwin Muir tells us how, as a child, he first discovered this language " from the night and the soft night wind "—

> The night, the night alone is old
> And showed me only what I knew,
> Knew, yet never had been told:
> A speech that from the darkness grew
> Too deep for daily tongues to say,
> Archaic dialogue of a few
> Upon the sixth or the seventh day.
> And shapes too simple for a place
> In the day's shrill complexity
> Came and were more natural, more
> Expected than my father's face
> Smiling across the open door,
> More simple than the sanded floor
> In unexplained simplicity.

Unfortunately, western civilization, with its materialistic outlook and political expedience, tends to obscure and distort these race-memories, to thrust them below the surface of consciousness or to rob them of their true significance by reducing them to the stature of innocuous fairy-tales which, whatever their attraction for the child, have little direct effect upon the conscious thought of the adult. So that, to some extent, the poet is frequently compelled to take upon himself the function of the psycho-analyst by revealing the archetypal patterns within the mind and bringing them to consciousness before he can achieve any satisfactory measure of communication. There is one important difference—while the psycho-analyst's attention is confined to his patient, the poet is concerned not only with the individual but also with humanity as a whole.

Perhaps this is another reason why some readers are perplexed by contemporary poetry; they approach the new poem as if it were an intellectual problem to be solved instead of letting the poetry weave its own subtle spell upon them at a more instinctive plane. The artist, as Mr. Eliot has remarked," is more primitive, as well as more civilized, than his contemporaries, his experience is deeper than civilization, and he only uses the phenomena of civilization in expressing it."

The discoveries in psychology were accompanied by correlative discoveries or ideas in anthropology, astronomy and physics. We must go back to the nineteenth century again (1890 to be precise) for the appearance of the first of the 11 volumes of *The Golden Bough* in which Sir James Frazer made public the results of his study of man's earliest religious beliefs. Frazer's pioneer work, revealing as it did the origin of the various myths, legends, and ancient fertility rituals of primitive peoples, and the relation between them, was of tremendous importance to

the poet. Moreover, it provided a vital link between the findings of anthropology and psychology, either field of inquiry supporting the other.

If man's conception of himself and of his own mental processes has been radically altered during the last 50 years, his conception of the external universe has undergone a change no less revolutionary. So much so that it has been necessary for some purposes to discard Newtonian ideas of time, space, gravity, and matter, and to replace what had long been accepted as fundamental laws of nature by working principles more applicable to the facts newly discovered by observation and experiment, if outside the normal range of experience. Time and space, we have learned, are not absolute, as was previously believed, but relative to the observer and together constitute a curved, four-dimensional space-time continuum. In place of 'form' and 'matter' we must now think in terms of organization and energy. Cause is no longer inseparable from effect, for as soon as the scientist starts to examine atomic phenomena he finds that the very instruments he uses disturb what he is attempting to study and introduce other factors to his experiments, so that Heisenberg's *Principle of Indeterminacy* has to be taken into consideration. As psychology has shown in regard to mental activities, science has revealed in the external world that subject cannot be isolated from object. This is just to mention briefly a few of the major developments in scientific research, but it should be sufficient to indicate the transformation that has taken place in human knowledge. The mechanical universe of the nineteenth century has been abandoned, and so far from being near to complete understanding, on the threshold of a new golden age of science, as the Victorians took for granted, we are becoming more and more aware of the complexity of the world in which we live, while growing less confident in man's ability to utilize his scientific and technical resources for the benefit of the human race. Meanwhile, the astronomers have found the stellar universe to be immeasurably vaster than has ever been conceived before and our system to be but one of countless galaxies of stars, to say nothing of the spiral nebulae by which the earth is surrounded (though at a distance of millions of light-years) as far as the telescopic eye can see. Not only is the universe far greater than the Victorians imagined, but according to some theories it is expanding rapidly.

It would be absurd to infer that modern poets succeed in keeping themselves so well informed on the latest scientific theories that they can assimilate them and transform them into poetry, but it would be equally absurd to maintain that they can remain unaffected by these new conceptions of man and the universe which are known vaguely to most of us, and yet have anything valid to say to their contemporaries. At the beginning of the last century Wordsworth wrote:

> If the labours of Men of science should ever create any material revolution, direct or

indirect, in our condition, and in the impressions which we habitually receive, the Poet will sleep then no more than at present; he will be ready to follow the steps of the Man of science, not only in those general indirect effects, but he will be at his side, carrying sensation into the midst of the objects of science itself. The remotest discoveries of the Chemist, the Botanist, or Mineralogist, will be as proper objects of the Poet's art as any upon which it can be employed, if the time should ever come when these things shall be familiar to us, and the relations under which they are contemplated by the followers of these respective sciences shall be manifestly and palpably material to us as enjoying and suffering beings.

One might go further than that and insist that the poet, being so susceptible to changes in thought intimately concerned with man in relation to his environment, can hardly help himself; he must be of his age and attempt to come to terms with his material. In one way or another even the most conservative poets to-day tend to reflect in their work the uncertainty of the period and their sense of insecurity. The traditional subjects of poetry, life, death, religion, love, hate and time, may remain the same as always, but they have to be set against a completely different background—a background, let it be said, that is assuming ever more complicated proportions.

For example, the notion of time: although for centuries mystics and philosophers have speculated on the nature of time, the conventional (because the practical) view was that it was a fourth dimension, measurable by the calendar and the clock, the past already experienced being separated from the unexperienced future by a continually moving instant of perception recognized as the present. Unlike the dimensions of space, however, the time dimension permitted movement in one direction only. What was in the ever-growing past had gone beyond all hope of recovery, though it might be recalled to memory, and what was still in the future could not be determined except by supernatural means. From the beginning to the end of his life, man had to make or follow his own track. This gave rise to the popular conception of time as the spoiler of youth, ambition and beauty, symbol of transitoriness and decay, and associate of death, so often celebrated in our poetry, if varied according to the mood and temperament of the poet:

Ruin hath taught me thus to ruminate—
That Time will come and take my Love away.
(" Time and Love ": Shakespeare)

Gather ye rose-buds while ye may,
Old Time is still a-flying:
And this same flower that smiles to-day,
Tomorrow will be dying."
(" Counsel to Girls ": Herrick

But at my back I always hear
Time's wingéd chariot hurrying near;
And yonder all before us lie

Deserts of vast eternity.
Thy beauty shall no more be found,
Nor in thy marble vault shall sound
My echoing song; then worms shall try
That long preserved virginity,
And your quaint honour turn to dust,
And into ashes all my lust.
("To His Coy Mistress": Marvell)

The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave,
Awaits alike th' inevitable hour: —
The paths of glory lead but to the grave.
("Elegy Written in a Country Church-Yard": Grey)

In an essay published in 1887 Henri Bergson proposed to substitute for the traditional idea his own conception of time as duration; that is, as life experienced in a continual state of 'becoming', a present not regulated by clocks or calendars but by the intensity of consciousness, to which the whole of the past contributes. Then came Einstein's *Relativity Theory* which, in proving that both time and space are relative to the observer, demolished the idea of absolute time and space. A few years later Minkowsky, following the Einsteinian line of thought, disposed of the notion that the time dimension was qualitatively distinct from the three dimensions of space, and introduced the concept of the space-time continuum. Working in another sphere altogether, psychologists have found that the dreaming mind is free from the restrictions of time and space which operate under normal waking conditions—the unconscious, it seems, can range freely in time without reference to chronological sequence. To make the situation even more complicated, J. W. Dunne has been led by his researches to propound a theory of *serial* time:

> Every Time-travelling field of presentation is contained within a field one dimension larger, travelling in another dimension of Time, the larger field covering events which are 'past' and 'future', as well as 'present', to the smaller field,

presented to a *serial* observer:

> The serialism of the fields of presentation involves the existence of a serial observer. In this respect every Time-travelling field is the field apparent to a similarly travelling and similarly dimensioned observer,

by which he claims not only to account for the precognitive and multi-dimensional activity of dream-life, but also to answer the questions posed by modern physics and psychology. It is not without significance that Dunne's theory allows for the existence of "an individual soul which has a definite beginning in absolute time" and lends weight to the religious belief in "the unity of all flesh in the Superbody and of all minds in the Master-mind." If P. D. Ouspensky, on the other hand, is content to postulate a time which, like space, has but three dimensions, he raises difficulties of his own by submitting that time, for each of us, is a sort of vicious circle which we enter at birth and leave at death, and by re-birth enter at another point to follow the same old pattern of thought, inclin-

ation and action, unless the circle itself can be changed into a spiral through the spiritual reorientation of the individual.

To enumerate these various theories, in this brief manner, as the requirements of my subject compel me to do, gives little indication of the stimulating effect they have had upon the writers of the twentieth century, or of the extent to which they have been reflected in the literature of the period, once they had been absorbed and applied in particular modes of expression; but it will readily be appreciated that such challenging ideas especially when supported by science and physics, must inevitably attract the attention of creative minds. To such ideas can be traced the numerous attempts, in the portrayal of character, to convey the reality of the inner state of being, freed from the domination of time, by means of the interior monologue and the ' stream of consciousness ' method of writing. Their influence can be discerned in the techniques adopted by Aldous Huxley in his *Eyeless in Gaza* and William Faulkner in *The Sound and the Fury* (to mention two volumes out of many) no less than in the deliberate choice of thematic material as in J. B. Priestley's *I Have Been Here Before*, a play based upon a modification of Ouspensky's concept of the ' circle of recurrence '; but in prose they operate at their deepest level in the work of Virginia Woolf, Marcel Proust and James Joyce.

In modern poetry, too, there is this preoccupation with timelessness, this groping towards a time beyond that plotted out for us in terms of days, hours and minutes, as well as the traditional attitudes to which we are accustomed. T. S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* provides an excellent illustration:

> And under the oppression of the silent fog
> The tolling bell
> Measures time not our time, rung by the unhurried
> Ground swell, a time
> Older than the time of chronometers, older
> Than time counted by anxious worried women
> Lying awake, calculating the future,
> Trying to unweave, unwind, unravel
> And piece together the past and the future,
> Between midnight and dawn, when the past is all deception,
> The future futureless, before the morning watch
> When time stops and time is never ending;
> And the ground swell, that is and was from the beginning,
> Clangs
> The bell.
>
> (" The Dry Salvages ")

Yet because any speculation about the nature of time in relation to man's life, or to eternity, must at some stage involve a consideration of birth and death—it is on this common ground that science and mysticism seem to have established points of contact and may come even closer together—we find, more often than not, that the poet is com-

pelled to follow his theme into the realm of metaphysics. In the *Four Quartets* there are several passages which indicate the author's familiarity with the ideas of Bergson, Ouspensky and Dunne, among others, or which can be identified with the physicist's space-time continuum. But Mr. Eliot is concerned not only with man's existence *in* time but also with man's redemption *from* time, and, having pondered over the findings of science and psychology, and taken from them what he can, he dismisses them as too limited in scope for his purpose with the same gesture that he brushes aside the expedients of spiritualism, astrology and fortune-telling by palmistry, cards and tea-cups.

From scientific research and philosophy he turns to religion for greater understanding, to express what is essentially a Christian point of view:

> But to apprehend
> The point of intersection of the timeless
> With time, is an occupation for the saint—
> No occupation either, but something given
> And taken, in a lifetime's death in love,
> Ardour and selflessness and self-surrender.
> For most of us, there is only the unattended
> Moment, the moment in and out of time,
> The distraction fit, lost in a shaft of sunlight,
> The wild thyme unseen, or the winter lightning
> Or the waterfall, or music heard so deeply
> That it is not heard at all, but you are the music
> While the music lasts. These are only hints and guesses,
> Hints followed by guesses; and the rest
> Is prayer, observance, discipline, thought and action.
> The hint half guessed, the gift half understood, is Incarnation
> Here the impossible union
> Of spheres of existence is actual,
> Here the past and future
> Are conquered, and reconciled . . .

In *The Transfiguration* Edwin Muir deals with another aspect of the problem, again from the Christian standpoint. After imagining the reaction of the disciples to a world miraculously changed for an instant, he gives his version of the transcendent reality of time—past, present and future—contained in one:

> In our own time,
> Some say, or at a time when time is ripe,
> Then he will come, Christ the uncrucified,
> Christ the discrucified, his death undone,
> His agony unmade, his cross dismantled—
> Glad to be so—and the tormented wood
> Will cure its hurt and grow into a tree
> In a green springing corner of young Eden,
> And Judas damned take his long journey backward
> From darkness into light and be a child
> Beside his mother's knee, and the betrayal
> Be quite undone and never more be done.

In some respects our age is not unlike that of the seventeenth century,

which may partly account for the fact that the metaphysical poet, John Donne, is held in higher esteem to-day than ever before, for in Donne's work we can discern a sense of insecurity arising, in principle, from similar causes to our own:

> And new Philosophy calls all in doubt
> The Element of fire is quite put out;
> The Sun is lost, and th' earth, and no man's wit
> Can well direct him where to look for it.
> And freely men confess that this world's spent,
> When in the Planets, and the Firmament
> They seek so many new; they see that this
> Is crumbled out again to his Atomies.
> 'Tis all in pieces, all coherence gone;
> All just supply, and all Relation . . .
>
> " An Anatomy of the World " 1611

The seventeenth century exhibited the same rapid accumulation of scientific knowledge. Kepler and Galileo, with the aid of the newly-invented telescope, were searching the skies and their observations were disturbing deeply-rooted notions of the universe. Anatomists and physiologists were making equally exciting discoveries about the human body. The long conflict between opposing ideologies, symbolized by the king and Parliament, developed into an open warfare which divided the nation. Out of it all, the flux and ferment, the speculation and controversy, a new philosophical outlook was gradually emerging.

Yet in other respects our age is very different. However confusing and unsettling the new knowledge may have been, Donne and his contemporaries could, at least, still fall back upon a strong religious faith, upon convictions so potent in the everyday lives of the people that scores of religious sects were formed during the period. For us of the twentieth century scientific materialism had, almost before we were born, already undermined the doctrines handed down to us and had done little to replace them. Nor can any mood of the seventeenth century be equated with the sense of fear and anxiety dominating life to-day, after two world wars and with the distinct possibility of a third in which atomic forces of destruction may well put an end to civilization as we know it. Mr. D. R. Davies summarizes the position succinctly when he refers to " the grim and stubborn contradiction . . . that in an epoch of unparalleled technical power and performance, the spiritual hopes of civilized mankind should shrink to the level of physical survival."* " We are troubled," he continues," by the menace of extinction, not in some future, ghostly spirit-world, but here in this present, concrete, material world."

(*Mr. Howard Sergeant is the editor of* Outposts.)

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* *The Sin of Our Age* (Geoffrey Bles) 1947.

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THE AIRSHIP ADVENTURE

By J. F. Baker

This country is slowly realizing the value of its engineers; the process is in urgent need of acceleration. As Mr. Chuter Ede, M.P. said recently: "Even people who are born with silver spoons in their mouths will find that if our best brains regard technical things as beneath them there will be nothing to put in the spoons, and they will only choke them." The profession would undoubtedly receive its due share of the best brains if the community had a better understanding of what engineering is, of the complexity of its problems, the responsibilities involved and the thrill and satisfaction of creation. Unfortunately engineers and engineering are not thought by the press to have any news value. The men themselves, though at least as colourful and distinguished as the members of any other profession, are seldom if ever chosen as the subject of a Sunday 'Profile' and the greatest and most exciting projects get little more notice than a dreary list of the number of tons of steel and concrete which have gone into their making. Anything which breaks this silence is welcome and it is good, therefore, to have, so closely following Sir Frank Whittle's *Jet,* another autobiography of an engineer and by so skilled a writer as Nevil Shute.*

Nevil Shute Norway was born in 1899, the son of a civil servant in the General Post Office. Apart from ten days in his extreme youth when he played truant from a dame's school and discovered the fascination of the Science Museum, some skill in making model aeroplanes and a share in a motor cycle, he seemed, like many of those destined to be distinguished engineers, to be more interested as a boy in country pleasures and sailing than in mechanical things. After the Dragon School and Shrewsbury, he entered Woolwich in 1918, hoping for a commission in the Royal Flying Corps but was unfit and so enlisted in the infantry. He served for a year before going up to Oxford where he read engineering. No more than one-sixth of the book deals with these first 23 years; the rest, divided roughly into two equal parts, covering 16 years, describes two thrilling pioneer ventures, the design and construction of the rigid airship R100 and the founding, development and absorption of Airspeed Ltd., an aeroplane company.

It was generally agreed in 1924 that the aeroplane would never be a suitable vehicle for carrying passengers across the oceans and that airships would operate all long distance routes of the future. Sir Dennis Burney with Vickers Ltd. put up a proposal for the building of six commercial airships. It was eventually decided that Vickers should be given a contract to build one, R100, at Howden while the Air Minstry should build another, R101, at Cardington. Nevil Shute after two years' experience on aeroplane design with the newly formed de Havilland Company joined the R100 team as Chief Calculator, later becoming Deputy Chief Engineer. He thus saw the job through all its phases, being aboard on all flights and was still in the team at the sad breaking up of the ship six years later. How fortunate that one who was to become a skilled writer should have this experience! He has given us a description which almost conveys to the layman the immensity of the adventure. It is difficult to realize that a considerable proportion of the present reading public

* *Slide Rule.* Nevil Shute. William Heinemann, London. 18s.

was not born when these airships flew and so cannot know for themselves the sight of the lovely silver things, 709 feet long and 130 feet in diameter, so streamlined and proportioned that their immense bulk was forgotten. Those who flew in them and knew the unrivalled loveliness and peace of sailing above a moonlit sea are a mere handful, yet the author makes it all vivid. He does more; he conveys an idea of the problems facing the designers, who had no reliable experience to guide them, and of the "satisfaction almost amounting to a religious experience" of the calculators who after two or three months' work on the stressing of a transverse frame found all their forces in balance and knew that they had reached the truth.

All this would make a more satisfactory story if it were not for the bitterness with which it is shot through, bitterness extraordinary to see alive after 25 years. It arises from the relations, or lack of them, between the Howden and the Cardington teams. These men engaged on a great unique adventure had no contact, they did not discuss their common problems or their successes; looking back it seems as if they were divided by an iron curtain. The author describes the extraordinary atmosphere accurately enough but his explanation is shockingly biased, shocking because of the tragic fate of the R101. He has no good word to say for that ship or for the designers, those distinguished brave men who died in her. He states that the designers had been those responsible for the ill-fated R38, and by rights ought to have been in gaol for manslaughter, when in fact only one, and he in a junior capacity, had had anything to do with that ship. The relations between the competing teams being what they were the author could not know of the excellence of the R101 before she was lengthened and maltreated in a vain effort to give her the necessary lift to reach India nor is anyone likely to know now what impelled the designers, till then so meticulous, to throw aside all their precautions knowing well what their fate was likely to be.

While Nevil Shute's bitterness is to be regretted it is easy to sympathize with his grave disappointment. As a result of the R101 disaster his own ship, which had flown to Canada and been in every way successful, was scrapped, the airship adventure was over, and he was without a job. With great courage, but virtually no capital, he proceeded to form an aeroplane construction company. This story also is vividly told and not without its purely technical interest and successes—the development of the Airspeed Courier and Cobham and Helmore's refuelling experiments—but it is overlaid by the author's anxieties and endeavours to raise more and more capital in those difficult days when the size of aeroplane demanded by the operating companies seemed to increase week by week. However he succeeded in the end and established his company only to fall out with his Board. From this disappointment he turned to his hobby of writing with such success that we have almost certainly been deprived of a great engineer.

WORLD HISTORY FROM 1914 TO 1950, by David Thomson. *Geoffrey Cumberlege: Oxford University Press.* 6s.

It was in 1880 that Olga Novikoff, the Russian publicist and friend of Gladstone, in assessing the relative strengths of the world powers of her day wrote: "The Germans have reached their day, the English their mid-day, the French their afternoon, the Italians their evening, the Spanish their night; but the Slavs stand on the threshold of the morning." Dr. Thomson, in less picturesque language but with a far deeper insight has brought this generalization up to date. When surveying the world scene in 1914 he finds the largest and most important world-wide power to be the British Commonwealth. Great Britain as the central member of the Commonwealth had interests all over the globe and was still the largest carrier of the commerce of other nations, and the world's chief ship-builder. The total of her oversea investments was in the

neighbourhood of £4,000 million. But the introduction of cheap railway transport and other factors was beginning to alter the position and led to the emergence of Germany and the United States as serious trade rivals.

The challenge of the United States and its emergence as a great exporting nation was apparent before Britain's heavy shipping losses during the 1914-1918 war. Describing the position of world affairs on the eve of that war Dr. Thomson writes: "The world scene in 1914, in its broadest terms, was one of more intense economic interdependence combined with more severe political separateness; of social and economic progress, in the sense of higher standards of living and comfort, combined with growing tensions within society between capital and labour; of great material progress combined with cultural impoverishment and confusion. It was clearly a world in a state of flux and of rapid transformation."

There is little in the author's account of the first and second world wars that an intelligent person should not remember. But those who, like the reviewer, were born before the Boer War, will realize how much they have forgotten. The most important chapters in this extremely readable book are those which deal with the post-war decade of 1919-28 and the pre-war decade of 1929-39. Here the author's grasp of his subject is clear from many a brilliant conclusion. In fact his erudition, combined with a clear style and an ability to compress a confusing mass of evidence into a confined space, tend to disguise the fact that this must have been an extremely difficult book to write.

It is not possible in a short review to summarize the treatment of the period from 1919 to 1950. But Dr. Thomson is particularly good in his treatment of the growth of Russia until by 1950 she became the chief rival to the United States as a world power. This volume, the latest addition to the Home University Library, should be on the shelves of every intelligent student of world affairs. C. COLLIN DAVIES

SOUTH-EAST ASIA : A Short History, by Brian Harrison. *Macmillan.* 10*s.* 6*d.*

South-East Asia is being brought into the news by the Communist pressure to which that region is exposed. One British counter-measure has been to found the University of Malaya and place it in the path of the threatened onslaught. A primary task of that university is to explain South-East Asia to the rest of the world, dispelling some of the ignorance which underlies the less promising efforts of policy. Part of that task has fallen to Professor Harrison, until recently of Malaya, and he is to be congratulated on producing a book for which there is an evident need.

This short history covers a wide area and a long period. It deals with Burma, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo and the Philippines. It begins with the earliest traces of *homo sapiens* and ends at the present day. The scope of the book thus enables the author to make a unity of what has hitherto been a disconnected series of studies. The result should be of inestimable value to the student of history and of current affairs. This work is clearly and readably set forth, usefully illustrated with maps and a time-chart, nicely printed and reasonably priced.

The limitations of Professor Harrison's book are those inherent in its length and scope. To compress the history of South-East Asia into 258 pages is no easy task A detailed treatment is obviously impossible and something must be sacrificed in the interests of lucidity and brevity. In this instance space has been more generously devoted to the earlier periods, the story becoming progressively more compact as it nears the present. This is more than justified from a chronological point of view but less so perhaps in relation to the available facts. The devotion of about 50 pages to the nineteenth century and another 50 to the twentieth represents a greater compression of material than is attempted in the earlier chapters. The author is understandably cautious in dealing with events after 1939, to

which he allots no more than six pages in all. The same need for economy in space has deprived the book of the list of sources which some would have found useful. The select list of books for further reading is of value in listing the works readily available, but is not otherwise comprehensive.

There can be no doubt that Professor Harrison's book will be indispensable to the student for many years to come Its appearance coincides with that of *An Outline Atlas of Eastern History* by R. R. Sellman, useful in conjunction with it. Professor Hall is believed to be writing a history of South-East Asia on a bigger scale, and with its appearance some current ideas may well have to be modified. In the meanwhile, Professor Harrison has prepared the way and provided the Asian student with a textbook and a starting-point for more detailed study. We shall look forward to seeing further works from Professor Harrison, dealing with a region as fascinating as it is important.

C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON

HUNGRY PEOPLE AND EMPTY LANDS, by S. Chandrasekhar. *Allen & Unwin.* 18*s*.

The uneven distribution of the world's population over the world's surface, and the resultant inequality in sharing of the world's resources have been discussed both by American and British writers; among others by Prof. Dudley Stamp in *Our Undeveloped World*. The present volume is by an Indian writer, the Professor of Economics in the University of Baroda. He begins with a lucid account of the demographic disequilibrium of the world, listing the crowded and empty lands. The most crowded are the United Kingdom, Holland, Belgium, Germany, Italy and Japan, with 400 to 726 persons per square mile; then come India with 260, China with 100 and Indonesia with 88; the empty ones are the Americas, especially South America, Africa, and Australia with five or less. The Europeans, the author considers, have no problem: the real difficulties are for the Asians. He puts forward five remedies: the grant of political freedom to all colonial peoples, universal adoption of birth control, planned international migration, large scale industrialization, and intensive agricultural development. The author is not specific as to who the colonial peoples are; he describes colonial administrations, however, as being "not interested in developing the areas under their control for the benefit of the colonial populations": which rules out the British regions, and as the French and Belgians would claim, theirs also; it becomes therefore a little difficult to follow him when he writes "a free and prosperous Asia and Africa might help a war-weary Europe to preserve peace and prosper more than Colonialism writ across the world."

Professor Chandrasekhar's advocacy of birth control will meet with widespread though not universal approval; it has the sanction of the Indian Government though he does not think enough is being done about it. The need for intensive agricultural development is universally accepted; the author however does less than justice to the work of Indian agricultural experts in overcoming their great difficulties, resulting from the inadequate and uncertain water supply over most of the country, the long dry season, and the inability for religious reasons to keep down the population of cattle and in some districts of monkeys. As a corollary the need for further industrialization is widely recognized both for taking redundant people off the land and for producing commodities that will stimulate the peasant to produce more food in order to acquire them. The author does not sufficiently recognize that intensification of both agriculture and industry requires collaboration with the western peoples and is not simply a matter of receiving money from them.

The most debatable proposal is that of planned emigration. Would it in fact relieve population pressure to any important extent? No mention is made of Mussolini's important experiment in demographic migration in North Africa

which throws interesting light on this subject. Tropical Australia is mentioned as a suitable region and the author quotes an estimate of 50 millions as possible population against the present nine or ten millions. He ignores the fact that the rain is monsoonal and notoriously uncertain: in 1951 it failed and for two years there was none; in spite of efforts to move them more than a million cattle perished. Had some emigration scheme planted large colonies there what could Australia have done with the streams of famishing refugees? The difficulty about the so-called empty lands is that such large areas of them lack water and without water no emigration scheme can succeed. The only large area where land and water are both available is the Amazon basin, and the author rightly stresses its potential importance. Here, however, there are difficult political problems.

The book is particularly interesting as a presentation of the views of an Indian economist who has thought much about the subject and even where the reader disagrees he will still have to give them careful consideration.

E. JOHN RUSSELL

QUEEN SALOTE AND HER KINGDOM, by Sir Harry Luke. *Putnam.* 9*s.* 6*d.*

As a former Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, Sir Harry Luke is ideally qualified to write about Queen Salote and her Kingdom of Tonga, or the Friendly Islands, to give them the name they owe to Captain Cook. The remarkable woman who captured the hearts of the British people at the time of the Coronation belongs to a dynasty which goes back in a direct line to a time before the Norman Conquest. It is governed under a Constitution which closely follows that of Great Britain, with Legislative Assembly, Cabinet, and Privy Council. Since its dark-skinned people were Christianized by the London Missonary Society it has made striking material progress. It is a land of peasant proprietors, but to-day all the younger generation can read and write, while the better educated study European history and translations of the classics.

During the last war Tonga sent Commando units to fight the Japanese in the Solomon Islands, while its people subscribed two fighters for the R.A.F. But though by its war effort Tonga so richly earned its place at the Coronation, the islands are not a British Protectorate. Their status has an interesting history. By the end of the last century, which was marked by a scramble for territory in the Pacific, Tonga was the only Pacific State not under the control of a foreign power. What hope was there of its remaining so? The solution was found in a Treaty under which, while retaining its independence, Tonga came under British protection.

Sir Harry Luke, who made many visits to Tonga during his term of office, gives an attractive picture of its people and their island home. Readers of THE FORTNIGHTLY who remember the articles he contributed to these pages in former years, need not be assured of the agreeable and informative style in which he writes. The illustrations also are quite exceptionally lavish. They include many which record the visit of Queen Elizabeth and the Duke of Edinburgh during their Empire tour.

H. R. WESTWOOD

FLIGHT FROM DAKAR, by Eiliv Hauge & Vera Hartmann. *Allen & Unwin.* 15*s.*

No escape from captivity during the war was more carefully planned and prepared for, or more courageously and skilfully carried out than that of the Norwegian M/S *Lidvard* of Oslo from the Vichy controlled port of Dakar. It is fortunate that the Chief Engineer Bjarne Smördal kept a diary "which he thought might be valuable." The *Lidvard* was also fortunate in her captain, Nikolai Lindtner, a man of stern determination who was able to hold his own with the French authorities.

Arriving from Saigon with a cargo of rice on May 30, 1940, they expected

a friendly greeting, but found it quite otherwise, and Captain Lindtner's first success was when he refused to have a guard of black naval ratings placed on board. There were eight or ten other Norwegian ships interned there and several of other nationalities. Many attempts were made by the French to induce the crews to gain so-called freedom by taking service under the Quisling Government, but not a single Norwegian consented to do so, though as time went on the restrictions on the interned crews became ever more severe.

An unbiased account by an eye-witness of what went on behind enemy lines is bound to be of exceptional interest. The account of the attack on the *Richelieu* and of General de Gaulle's attack on the port agree entirely with those published in Sir Winston Churchill's *The Second World War*. Many men of the interned crews escaped to Bathurst by boat, but the officers felt it their duty to remain by their ships. One small Dutch steamer managed to get away, and an unsuccessful attempt was made by a Belgian ship whose propeller unfortunately got hung up in the net defence. The French then removed essential parts of machinery from each interned ship, and the *Lidvard* had to surrender her starting pipes. The ship seemed hopelessly immobilized but Bjarne Smördal had an idea. In the greatest secrecy, without telling even the captain, he and the two other engineers set to work to make exact copies of the real pipes out of non-essential exhaust pipes. As the French coveted this fine new ship he suggested the captain should ask to be lent the proper pipes temporarily for a trial of the engines. After some hesitation the French concurred and in spite of strict supervision the engineers managed to return the copies and keep the proper pipes. Then, and not till then, the captain was let into the secret. He arranged to take the ship out just after midnight on the following Saturday when the look out would be less vigilant. The escape was effected with supreme skill and nerve and after an exciting passage the *Lidvard* arrived safely at Freetown. Seldom had an exploit by Norwegian seamen created such a sensation. King Haakon conferred the order of the War Cross with Swords on Captain Lindtner and the two senior engineers, and the King of England conferred K.B.E's on the captain and chief engineer.

ROBERT N. BAX

NUNAMIUT, by Helge Ingstad. *Allen & Unwin.* 21*s.*

WEST NORWAY AND ITS FJORDS, by F. N. Stagg. *Allen & Unwin.* 18*s.*

THE DANGEROUS RIVER, by R. M. Patterson. *Allen & Unwin.* 15*s.*

In the Endicott Mountains, in the remote regions of Alaska, lives a diminishing tribe of Eskimos, known as the Nunamiut, who are quite distinct in every respect from the Eskimo on the coast. For a year Helge Ingstad lived among these primitive and hospitable people, who from the admirable photographs in his book are obviously most attractive. Exchange of wives had the practical object of establishing a community between two families. The children became step-brothers and sisters, and the hunters had an obligation to help one another. Now, it appears, wives are no longer exchanged and, as the author was told by his friend Paniaq, who is not only a matchless hunter but a splendid story-teller (and the owner of a perfectly delightful face), the tribe has a good remedy for infidelity. "If", he said, "a wife is seduced the man avenges himself at once by seducing the seducer's wife."

The Nunamiut believe that every flower, every mountain, everything on earth has its spirit, and that both men and animals have souls. This soul lives on after death. Paniaq alluded to a settlement inhabited by many Eskimos who died long ago. Sometimes a people from the air arrive, go round the settlement and take all the men and women there with them to a good place. Among the illustrations are some very attractive ones by Paniaq himself; one of them shows how a hunter places his

lance against the ground at an angle, so that a bear on its hind legs flings itself against it. This method of killing bears must be as difficult as that which the most famous of old Ronda matadors used to practise in the ring, when he "received", as it was called, the bull on his sword.

Commander Stagg is well known for his Scandinavian adventures and studies. No picturesque detail seems to escape his notice. Thus we are told that in 1753 Bishop Pontoppidan wrote that "A violin is the Norwegian peasant's favourite instrument which is sometimes played at most unfortunate times. At burials the fiddler sits on top of the coffin to drive away melancholy, and all the time the funeral boat is making its way to church." Among the chieftains of the Middle Ages there was one Erling Skakke who used to give way to the fashionable failings of that time, drunkenness and what the author calls sexual athleticism. No serious moral stigma was then attached to any of these things, so that no one thought any the worse of Erling or, for instance, of Sigurd Munn who was killed at the age of 21, leaving a number of illegitimate children.

Fascinated by a book which spoke of the strange beauty of the remote South Nahanni River, by the wild game of that unhunted country and by the tale of lost gold and vanished men, Mr. Patterson and a friend planned to winter in that region, covering their expenses by trapping and if possible, to discover the source of the Nahanni Gold. The two partners built their winter cabin in Deadmen's Valley and we read what happened to them there. They, too, tell of bears; some of them were responsible for the death of a previous dweller in those parts, one Shebbach. He was found "not all in one place" for he and his clothing had been gnawed and dragged about by "bears, wolves and every other damned thing that could chew."

But when things go well in that part of the world there is much else to chew. After an hour's work and with a magnificent appetite our friend defied anyone to better his breakfast menu which consisted of porridge, sheep liver and bacon, bannock, butter, marmalade and tea, topped off with a bowl of raspberries and cream. The porridge was a mixture of rolled oats and whole wheat, and into this was thrown a little salt, a large pat of butter and a handful of seedless raisins. Before being served a thin slice of cheese is spread on top of the porridge, after which the dish is garnished with a pouring of dried milk to the consistency of cream and a liberal sprinkling of brown sugar.

HENRY BAERLEIN

THE LAW IN ACTION. A series of broadcast talks. *Stevens.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

Lord Asquith of Bishopstone says, in a foreword, that the guiding principle of these talks was that each should be based upon a recent decision of the English courts which had raised questions of general interest. Each talk was given by a distinguished academic lawyer. In the first Professor A. L. Goodhart discusses the question of damages for shock. Can a person who has been made seriously ill by a shock caused intentionally or negligently by another, recover damages even though he has suffered no direct physical impact? In the second talk Professor C. J. Hamson considers the liability of hospitals for negligence. He refers to the present tendency to hold the State liable for any breach of duty on the part of persons rendering medical service under the National Health scheme. The Medical Protection Society says the increase in actions against hospitals is alarming. What is alarming, one would have thought, is the departure from the reasonable standard of care which these actions reveal.

The third problem is that of the matrimonial home examined by R. E. Megarry. Two recent developments of the law are mentioned. First the author considers the right of a wife to remain in the home after the husband has deserted her. This right has been held to prevent a husband's trustee in bankruptcy— or a purchaser who is a friend

of the husband—from evicting the deserted wife. How far will the courts extend the doctrine? Must the purchaser of a house make sure that a deserted wife has not been left behind? The second development to which Mr. Megarry refers is the tendency of the courts, in a dispute, to divide property equally between husband and wife, although each has contributed in unequal proportions to a property or to a fund.

In the next talk Trevor C. Thomas discusses the extent to which trade unions, clubs and similar bodies can affect a member's livelihood or reputation by expelling him. Can such a body — or the individual members through whom the body acts—be made liable in damages? Next Professor Glanville Williams reviews some earlier decisions of the courts convicting persons of offences, unknown to the criminal law as such, save by the generic title of public mischief. The recent 'pottery case' now makes it clear that the judges will not punish an act done by an individual merely on the ground that it creates a public mischief. Curiously enough, the same case seems to show, however, that when two or more persons agree to commit a public mischief, the courts will convict of conspiracy; although they would not do so in the case of an individual doing it.

The final lecture was given by H. W. R. Wade. The topic is administrative law and the right of self defence. When a government department, in the exercise of its statutory powers, affects the rights of the citizen, for instance by an order under the Town and Country Planning Acts, what, if any, obligation rests on the minister to give the citizen a fair hearing? Mr. Wade contrasts the manner in which the law has developed in this country with that of the United States and France—to the detriment of this country.

All these matters are of the first importance and interest to the lawyer and to the citizen. The latter in the last resort, in a democracy, decides what the law shall be.

PETER LEWIS

TALKING OF SHAKESPEARE, edited by John Garrett, *Hodder & Stoughton in association with Max Reinhardt.* 20*s.*

This is a Stratford book. A number of addresses has been selected from those given there annually between 1948 and 1953 as "a refresher course for teachers whose responsibility it is to introduce Shakespeare to young people, and to make available to them some of the fruits of contemporary scholarship in their particular field." They have an equal interest for any pilgrim-playgoer bound for Warwickshire, or the Waterloo Road.

Mr. John Garrett's eleven is in no sense a team. It is less strong in professionals than in professors, who include A. L. Rowse, Nevill Coghill and Walter Oakeshott. The editor himself is masterly—with (good) schoolmasterish jokes—on classroom Shakespeare, while at the academic extreme John Dover Wilson analyses the problems posed in the editing of *Richard III*, many of them by the ubiquitous careless compositor. The argument is obscured for a moment (or, if you like, illumined) by a tiny telling misprint of 1954. The most exciting of the university lectures (and not only because it still vibrates with the tone of actual speech) is A. P. Rossiter's on "Ambivalence: the dialectic of the histories." It is a reinstatement, quite unsentimental, of Falstaff, which surely refutes the powerful group of critics who accept his rejection as though the dramatist were entirely committed to the Tudor ethos of history. Mr. Rossiter further claims that the Order Symbols, Henry V and Henry Tudor, are of no more significance in the Shakespeare universe than the Fortinbrases and the Albanies who survive to clear up the wreck of tragedy. How calculated this is to start the kind of argument which is as happily part of Stratford in summer as its swans and gardens. ('More matter of a May morning' is L. A. G. Strong's conclusion that "the elder Hamlet was fussy and a bore" and that "his self-righteousness

as a ghost, too, cannot all have been acquired on the far side of the grave.")

Paul Dehn is not only very entertaining on cinematic Shakespeare, rocking Mason Croft by warning, of the filmed *Macbeth,* that "no child (not even a Bloody One) should be allowed within a mile of it" but successful in conveying the essence of the few triumphs in this dangerous form of adaptation.

For the player's point of view no better spokesman could have been found than Michael Redgrave; he writes so well on his *métier* that one looks forward (in extreme old age) to a great theatrical autobiography from him. His account of the evolution of his Richard II and Hamlet is just the sort of thing one longs to hear from actors and which good ones are rarely capable of providing.

The most fascinating contribution of all comes from producer Norman Marshall in his study of reactions to Shakespeare abroad, while touring Italy, France, Germany, India and Pakistan. A hopeless envy stirs as we read of the laughter of an Eastern audience at the balcony scene, which is indeed "full of young fresh gaiety," though it is too often bedevilled in performance for ourselves by everybody's knowledge of the hapless outcome. Still, we have our endless pleasures about and about Shakespeare; and for the first shock of encounter with his world there awaits that other teeming audience of foreigners, the children—of Juliet's age, that is, and Romeo's. Them and us alike, the Stratford policy of late years has nobly served.

G. W. HORNER

THE LETTERS OF THEODORE ROOSEVELT. Edited by Elting E. Morison. Vols. VII and VIII. *Harvard University Press: Geoffrey Cumberlege.* 160*s.*

The last two volumes of this work are headed, rather unfortunately, *The Days of Armageddon.* They cover the years 1909-1919, and in the main concern two themes: the origin and failure of the Progressive Movement within the Republican Party, and Roosevelt's attitude to the 1914-1918 war. The first is preceded by his account of the rather preposterous tour of the African jungle, the second by his sudden plunge into Brazilian forests.

The reader approaches letter number 6436, written the day of his death, with a feeling of loss. From these eight volumes, each of some 1500 pages, there arises the figure of a real person seen whole, familiar as an old friend whose words and deeds are predictable. Then comes that last letter defining and exalting Americanism in the good, round terms of the writer's forbears. "If the immigrant", he declares, "who comes here does in good faith become an American—he shall be treated on an exact equality with everyone else for it is an outrage to discriminate against any such man because of creed, or birthplace, or origin." In the light of such statements—coupled with the sweep and clarity of the letters to his English friends, Sir Cecil A. Spring-Rice, Arthur Lee Hamilton and George Otto Trevelyan—the boasting of the old-time Rough Rider, the ugliness of political intrigue, the total lack of comprehension of the point of view of such opponents as Woodrow Wilson or the Bishop of Oxford, fall into place in the picture of a full man.

Volume VIII is of particular interest to English readers since in it we see the cross-currents of public opinion, the failures and struggles, and above all the sense of unreality that pervaded American thought during the years 1914-1918. We may see Roosevelt's determination to lead a cavalry charge in Flanders as pathetic or as heroic yet such conceptions might well have meant defeat. On Japan, as always, he is worth hearing. In a letter dated May 10, 1913 (Vol. VII. p. 729) to Franklin D. Roosevelt, then Assistant Secretary of the Navy, he wrote: "I do not anticipate trouble with Japan, but it may come, and if it does it will come suddenly," and continued with a solemn warning on the dispersal of the fleet. Nevertheless it is not the opinions of "the greatest Re-

publican President since Lincoln" that attract in these volumes; rather it is the human person in relation to his sons, their education and prowess—three were decorated in the war, and one, the youngest, killed—in relation to his daughter and daughters-in-law, and above all in the lively comments on his beloved grandchildren. A delightful book might be made of the letters to his third son, Kermit, revealing a remarkable father-son relationship, deep and satisfying without being psychologically tedious.

The notes in these two volumes, unlike the illustrations, seem to have lost something of their pungent wit, but they have gained in use as a result of the policy outlined in the Preface of giving more indication of the nature of the letter to which Roosevelt was replying. The editing as in the whole massive work is superb. Arrangement, notes, indexes, proof-reading are all excellent as is the format and the beautiful, clear print. It is a tribute to the work of the Assistant Editor, John M. Blum, that one reader at least turned first in these volumes to the Appendices where his admirable essays are normally found. In all that is so good it seems cavilling to complain of a minor error yet surely the numbering of the last five letters in Appendix I is incorrect.

"A joyously jousting American!" In this phrase Charles Poore summed up Theodore Roosevelt. These letters reveal the fun of him, from the ten year old's, "What an excitement!" to the Big Stick joy in conflict: "We have almost all the money . . .and the great majority of the newspapers against us. But I am perfectly happy . . . " (Vol. VII, p. 598). He may be allowed to sum up in words from a letter to Sir Cecil A. Spring-Rice (Vol. VII, p. 334): "I have thoroughly enjoyed it all . . . being President, being Colonel in the Spanish War, my African trip, my ranch life in the West, my work and association with the men in our great cities . . . I have toiled and fought with men!"

GRACE A. WOOD

MATHEMATICS IN WESTERN CULTURE, by Morris Kline. *Allen & Unwin.* 30*s.*

LITERATURE AND SCIENCE, by B. Ifor Evans. *Allen & Unwin.* 8*s.* 6*d.*

The king of Laputa, when he questioned Gulliver solely about the state of mathematics, took no interest in the answers. The general reader will be interested as Professor Kline comprehensively surveys the effects on western culture of mathematics from its practical and empirical beginnings to the theory of relativity—"quantum theory" is respectfully and regretfully omitted. These effects, his thesis is, have been "a major cultural force." Dissents, perhaps many, may make the interest more piquant.

Mathematics has constantly, by its deductive rigour, enforced trust in reason, and, in its certitude, presented an ideal to science, philosophy, and religion. The scope of reason is limited, Professor Kline affirms, since man's rationality merely qualifies his animality. Mathematical theorems, he explains, are knowledge, but, being deduced from unproved axioms, mathematics "itself contains no truths." Neither the axioms nor the deduced theorems must contradict one another. Consistency has displaced truth in mathematics, and, he adds, this new god, it is *likely*, does not exist.

Euclid's famous "parallel axiom" had become "the scandal of geometry" by 1800. Then non-Euclidean geometries made plain that even in mathematics, however sheer the reasoning, there is no finality. A line, as the shortest distance between two points, is straight on a plane, and curved on a sphere. This hints how non-Euclidean geometry, by choosing appropriate axioms and concepts, as Professor Kline explains, can apply its theorems to the physical world. By such choices mathematics has become the veritable right hand of science, which does "seek truths about the physical world."

The Renaissance artist, Professor Kline explains, turned to mathematics

for realistic representation, and also because, as the Greeks had taught him, the essence of reality is mathematical. Twenty-six plates illustrate this interesting discussion. Optical, or geometrical, perspective secured artistic realism; projective geometry also connected practical map-making with artistic painting.

Science, fortified by mathematics, apparently made one impress upon literature in the heroic couplet. In Bishop Sprat's plea for appropriate language, through his history of the Royal Society, Dr. Evans notes the commendation of "mathematical plainness". Professor Kline notes in the couplet itself a "form analogous to a series of equal proportions." The couplet, Dr. Evans recognizes, provided a precisely ordered medium for analysis and criticism. The principles of poetry, Professor Kline explains, were being modelled on mathematical axioms and propositions. This impact of science on literature seems to Dr. Evans to be almost unique in its double effect on ideas and the structure of verse. Both writers stress the curbing of imagination by reason.

Swift's attack on Newton and science reactively recognized this invasion of literature. The invading science contained a proneness to mechanical versions of nature. Dr. Evans surveys the various effects of this "sudden and dominating ascendancy" over literature. Poets had praised Newton; Blake fiercely attacked him. Wordsworth sympathized with science, including mathematics; some romantic poets feared its mechanical proclivities. Then evolution disturbed thought, and, later on, psychoanalysis diagnosed the artist as a neurotic. Science also steadily transformed society by its inventions. *Literature and Science* opens with a reference to television: an aid "brilliant but dread". Science, the survey says, has hit at the creative writer by imposing a "technological civilization" on the artist. The menace of "cosmic disaster" also tends to reduce the value of individual experiences.

Dr. Evans gives his verdict: the nineteenth century had a major result in separating the scientist widely from the man of letters, and the prestige of science still contrasts with the depressed position of the creative writer. A "new humanism", however, is still open to him, for he can appreciate the value of the individual, and interpret the value in his experience.

Professor Kline offers mathematics to the artist. Usually it has less emotional appeal than music, painting or poetry, but much modern art is more intellectual than emotional; *The Three Musicians*, by Picasso, is, as the reader can judge from plate 27. Creative mathematics meets the aesthetic requirements of design, harmony, and beauty. This calls upon the "major cultural force" to extend the realm of art. Dr. Evans, though unintentionally, comments: the scientist uses his imagination to connect experiences; the artist uses his to express them in their own terms.

JOSHUA C. GREGORY

BOOKS ON THE TABLE

Seafarer's country

In 1951 and 1952 Sacheverell Sitwell's *Spain* was to be glimpsed occasionally among the *rambla* strollers in Barcelona or round about El Greco's house in Toledo, or on the tables of sherry-sippers in Seville, proclaiming the nationality of its owners no less than did their dun-coloured looks. But the first year's holiday included a journey by road to Lisbon—and alas Mr. Sitwell's PORTUGAL (*Batsford*. 18*s*.) has only just appeared.

There is a 28-page chapter that sanctions the subtitle AND MADEIRA, and which moreover makes one long to see the glory of the flowers of this "altogether exceptional among islands." For the most part then here is a gracious guide-book, dreaming and poetic yet from the blindness of idolatry wholly free, evoking sharp memories of the contrasts between Estoril and Cascais, for example, or of the cloisters of Batalha,

or of the monastery of Alcoboça with its fruit industry legacy, or of Leiria "the storm centre of the abbeys", or of the first sight of the Moorish royal palace's situation at Sintra, or of the beauty and ugliness of Coimbra, or of Evora welcoming us with flowers at our plates, or of the steep hills of Lisbon, its most alluring waterfront and early morning fishing fleets, and its wide Tagus turned in fancy as we crossed the estuary to a brighter Thames. Of these and the many other places the author visited, the book's 71 illustrations fittingly supplement his record. The differences between the pastoral and the tragic at the frontiers are burningly apparent even to the passing traveller, who senses Portuguese smugness alongside Portugal's dazzling cleanliness and Spanish pride alongside Spain's unremitting poverty, without being able to analyse satisfactorily the contradictions imposed by their histories and traditions. And here too Sacheverell Sitwell, is as usual a valuable 'sorter-outer' of impressions.

A cultured rogue

That far strip of the Iberian peninsula was well outside the 'grand tour' as prescribed for the sons of eighteenth century aristocrats. Nevertheless, as Jonathan Curling relates with satiric asides, EDWARD WORTLEY MONTAGU (*Andrew Melrose.* 21*s.*) ran away from Westminster School to join a ship bound for Oporto, where he decamped "to pick up a precarious livelihood gathering grapes and driving donkeys." This was but a mild escapade in a life devoted to playing truant. Yet his adventures, dubious always, brawling, debasing, fraudulent, prepared this a-moral polyglot to become Europe's leading Arabic scholar. While a Member of Parliament he went to Paris on an illicit honeymoon (bigamous marriage seems to have been a commonplace to him) and spent 11 days in the Châtelet prison on a charge of gaming debts and robbery, from which he was with difficulty extricated and vindicated. Mr. Curling's account of the long, tempestuous story of this eccentric Englishmen-cum-bearded-Turk holds the reader, rather dazed albeit, to the end, when Montagu had made himself one of the showpieces of Venice. Perhaps the son of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and her "millionaire-miser" husband could hardly have been other than a problem child.

Legend and fact

This pitfall seems to have been magnificently avoided by another wealthy boy, Muslim born and responsibility bred, as the descendant of the Prophet Mohammed, the spiritual and temporal head of the Ismailis, and the ruler of great estates in Bombay and Poona. THE MEMOIRS OF AGA KHAN (*Cassell.* 21*s.*) recall the events of 70 years ago when at the age of eight he entered his inheritance; harsh disciplines without holidays went to his education, and his scant free time was invaded by ceremonial visits from his followers. At 13 he "could read and write English, tolerable French, perfect Persian, and fair Arabic" and had a sound knowledge of Roman and of Islamic history. His scientific studies included in each of his houses a small laboratory where "a set period of practical, experimental work" was required every day. Fortunately he had an insatiable appetite for reading, and a highly cultivated mother, who could always cap or give verification to a quotation, a genuine mystic with a profound poetic understanding, in whose nature there was no room for bigotry. Of his various tours and his experiences in the society of the first years of this century, of post-war problems in India, Turkey and East Africa, of dominion status and round table conferences, of his work for the League of Nations, of the partition of India, of his friends and his family affairs, he is a shrewd and compassionate commentator. Further, as Somerset Maugham points out in the Foreword:

> The general public knows the Aga Khan chiefly as a racing man and it is not unlikely that the reader of this book, remembering the pages in which he narrates his experiences as a breeder of bloodstock and the happy winner of many classical events, will be a trifle taken aback by this moving, thoughtful and sincere chapter.

Just so, those of us who saw his television appearance recently may have

been as surprised, as we were warmed, by his modesty and "the strength and consistency of his character" which shone through all he had to say.

Slaying five giants

One whose strength and consistency of character this generation takes blessedly for granted has all the same found a valiant defender of his life and work in his wife, the author of BEVERIDGE AND HIS PLAN (*Hodder & Stoughton.* 15*s.*). Unable to "emulate his magnanimous tolerance", Janet Beveridge, not "without rancour or bitterness" and finding "it harder and harder to remain dispassionate in a mounting sense of bewilderment," traces the steps by which "the action of the politicians" succeeded "in dismembering it" (the Plan). Up to the "Launched amid Cheers" chapter the book is concerned with his origins, school, and before, Oxford, Toynbee Hall and after, war and its aftermath, a foretaste of the Plan, Green Street, and the Plan on the stocks; this section as a biography of a man universally admired, respected and even loved, is a welcome addition to the knowledge of our hero. When we arrive at such chapters as "Torpedoed", "*R.M.S. Queen Mary*", "The Plan Explained: America East and North and West and South", "Goebbels and the Resistance Movements", "Salvaged with Mixed Metaphors" and "A Last Word", we begin to hear restively and probably unfairly the note of resentment. The dust-jacket picture is captioned: "Now, Janet, don't interrupt me!" and while we appreciate this example of her ability to laugh at herself we regard her husband's playful reprimand with increasing irony and ruefulness. But happily her William's soothing qualities are not confined to her; and we can at least be uncomplicatedly grateful for such a clear exposition of all he tried to accomplish for social security.

Nobody's child

One of its aspects, of "Children in Care", has an ample illustration of their needs other than physical in a novel by Diana Marr-Johnson BELLA NORTH (*Chatto & Windus.* 12*s.* 6*d.*). Here is a case-book of a foundling's longing for love and a sense of belonging, sustained through an orphan Home, a remand Home, her work in a show-business office, her adoption of her friend's child, and her finding of Rags, the husband who was not to offer her her second-best. The other characters though well described are shadowy but Bella's own reactions have been entered into, and indeed ransacked, to find the clues to her behaviour. The unrolling of the situation is unconvincing, but maternal instincts do undoubtedly accomplish miracles. Above all, the author's sympathy and practical understanding of social work in the purlieus of Paddington and her latent ability to tell a tale, make this a memorable plea for those who see no reason why they should be thankful for the world so sweet, for the food they eat, for the birds that sing, and to God for everything.

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"Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish (private opinions); for I work a work in your days, a work which ye shall in no wise believe, though a man (woman) declare it unto you."
Acts xiii. 41)

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